



From an engraving by Samuel William Reynolds Senr.

*Sir Henry Russell
After the portrait by J. B. Chinnery*

MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM HICKEY

EDITED BY
ALFRED SPENCER

VOL. IV
(1790-1809)

WITH PHOTOGRAVURE PORTRAIT
AND SIX OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

IN the Prefatory Note to the second volume of the Memoirs some information was given as to the history of Hickey's original MS. It was certainly indefinite, but it was all that could be said at the time. I am glad to be able now to give the names of some of those who at different times have had possession of the MS.

It was many years before 1880 that the MS. fell into the hands of the late Colonel Horace Montagu of the 8th Hussars among effects belonging to his uncle, Captain Montagu Montagu, R.N., who died on the 31st July, 1863, at the age of seventy-six. Both Colonel Montagu and Captain Montagu Montagu were interested in the collection of prints and MSS., but how the Hickey MS. came into the possession of Captain Montagu Montagu cannot be ascertained. It is quite possible that he acquired it from the author, whose death does not seem to have occurred until 1830.

Colonel Montagu continued to hold the MS. until his death, at the age of seventy-five on the 14th October, 1910, when it was given by his executors to the late Major Robert Poore as a memento. Colonel Montagu and Major Poore, who died on the 22nd January, 1918, were very old friends and brother officers, both having served in the 8th Hussars during the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, and Major Poore had always been interested in the Memoirs. He has said that he read parts of the MS. as far back as 1880, when it was first shown to him by Colonel Montagu.

Soon after the MS. came into the possession of Major Poore he sent it to my friend, Mr. W. J. B. Odhams, who in turn thought that I as a Publisher might be interested to see such a curious old document, and thus it was brought to my notice.

During a period of many months I read a considerable part of the MS., to find, of course, that the Memoirs were of most remarkable interest, and I thereupon arranged that Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., of which firm I was then a director, should issue an initial volume, the expectation being that the unread part of the MS. would provide material for perhaps two further volumes. From time to time portions of the MS. were typed for easier reading, but it was not until many years

PREFACE

after the publication of the first volume that the whole contents of the MS. were known. It was then found that a fourth volume would be needed, and this volume, as will be seen, has had to be extended by over one hundred pages to bring the Memoirs to a conclusion.

My attitude towards the book has been that of a Publisher, and my endeavour has been to make these volumes interesting to the general reader. In reading the MS. I found many pages which I believed would be thought dull and others which, owing to the freedom of the language used, would be considered unfit for publication. For these reasons, and because of the wish to get the work into a reasonable compass, the MS. has gone through a process of elimination.

In the Prefatory Note to the first volume it was stated that when any considerable portion of the MS. had been omitted a reference would be made to it in a footnote. Afterwards it was not found convenient to do this, but in the Errata and Notes at the end of the present volume all these important deletions, so far as length is concerned, have been indicated and also the points where the omissions have occurred.

It has not been the intention to annotate the present edition. I have wished to preserve the narrative form of the Memoirs and to keep the reader free from the distraction of constant references to footnotes. A few Notes will be found at the end, which are merely a selection from some of those which have been thought to be not easily accessible. I know that a great deal of information is being collected by interested people. Among them I may mention Miss Edith Humphris, who has, during a long course of research, accumulated quite a mass of notes. I am much indebted to her for a number of those which have been printed, and particularly for the information comprised in the pages dealing with the Hickey family. Miss Humphris has also prepared the Index of the present volume and has helped me to see the proofs of the volume through the press. My thanks are also due to those whose names are mentioned in the Notes as having supplied me with information.

It has been suggested that when sufficient time has passed to get in all available information the Publishers should consider whether it is possible for them to produce a definitive edition fully annotated and including the unpublished parts, so far as they are publishable, perhaps with illustrations. If such an edition should be contemplated it would, I think, be essential that it should be prepared in collaboration by those who have made a special study of the life of the period, not only in England but in India.

An attempt has been made to date the present volume of the Memoirs so far as to give the year in which the events recorded occur. Those dates may not always be quite correct, as with Hickey's habits of anticipation and retrospection it has not been possible to be certain of some of them.

It is interesting to have discovered that the whole of the MS. is in Hickey's own handwriting. There is in the British Museum, as will be seen from the Notes, an original letter written by him to the Judges of the Supreme Court in Bengal, and a careful comparison of its writing with that of the MS. leaves no doubt that they are by the same hand.

The MS. ends abruptly and gives one the impression that it was in the author's mind to add to it. Probably it originally ended with the short description of his mode of life at Beaconsfield and of his difficulty in getting remittances from India. The record of the loss of the two fleets of Indiamen seems to have been written some time after, as the ink has quite a different colour. It is curious that although Hickey speaks of the loss of seven ships he deals only with the passengers of four of them. Perhaps he intended to complete the list, but could not find the necessary particulars.

It is clear from the text that the MS. was completed in 1813 or 1814, yet no mention is made by the author of the death in 1812 of his friend and neighbour, Mrs. Burke, nor of the fact that as far back as 1810 a Bill of Exchange had been sent from Calcutta for the amount of the author's investment in India. If Hickey was aware of this it is strange that in 1813 he should refer to the investment to show that his income from it was reaching him most irregularly. It is possible that the investment had been withdrawn by Hickey's accredited agent in India, and that he may not himself have heard of its withdrawal until long afterwards, for the reasons given by the India Office which will be found on page 476.

Unceasing efforts have been made to procure a portrait of the author, but without success. It has been found that in addition to the portraits mentioned in the Memoirs a painting described as "William Hickey, his favorite black servant and his dog" was made by William Thomas and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1820. There is every reason to believe that this is a portrait of the author, as the artist was for many years a resident at Beaconsfield. Among the portraits painted by him were those of the Rev. W. Mudge Bradford, vicar of Beaconsfield, Lieut.-Col. Ferris and a physician who was probably Hickey's friend and neighbour, Dr. Ferris. It is hoped that this picture of Hickey may yet be found, or at least a mezzotint engraving of it, which

there is reason to think was made. Possibly it was a copy of this engraving that was sold out of Mr. Thomas Haviland Burko's collection of prints at Christies in 1852.

The Errata list does not, I fear, cover all the errors to be found in the various volumes. The handwriting of the MS. is a beautiful specimen of caligraphy, but to decipher the names of people and places has been found difficult. At the India Office every possible help has been given to me in disposing of doubts which have arisen, and my grateful thanks are offered to Sir William Foster, K.C.I.E., and Mr. H. Mitchell for the very material assistance which they have so willingly and so kindly rendered to me. I have also to specially thank Sir Evan Cotton, K.C.I.E., the Honorary Secretary of the Bengal Historical Society; Mr. L. Carr Laughton, and the officials at the Admiralty; Mr. R. Flower, Mr. B. T. B. Wood, Mr. A. J. Ellis, and Mr. R. A. Coates of the British Museum; Mr. G. F. Bacon of the Wills Department, Somerset House, and Brigadier-General Hickie, C.M.G., all of whom have taken a most lively interest in the work and given of their valuable time and knowledge. I am glad, too, of this opportunity to thank my friend, Mr. Roger Ingpen, the compiler and annotator of perhaps the best of the many editions of Boswell's *Johnson*, for the useful advice which out of his long experience he was able to give me in the preparation of the early volumes. To Mrs. Ingpen, also, I give my thanks for her Indexes to those volumes.

For such imperfections in the work as are attributable to me I ask the reader's kind indulgence.

THE EDITOR.

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MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM HICKEY

CHAPTER I

1780-1791

IN CALCUTTA. A VOYAGE TO MADRAS IN
THE WARREN HASTINGS

MY health being in no way mended,¹ notwithstanding I was constantly swallowing medicine of some kind or other, several of my friends recommended me to try a change of air by taking a voyage at sea. This being mentioned in a company where Captain Douglas of the *Queen* was present, he the following morning came to my house and in the kindest manner told me he was shortly going to Bombay, and if I would accompany him, the round house would be entirely at my service, and by accepting it I should make him extremely happy. I expressed my obligation for his kindness, telling him that if I did not get better previous to the departure of his ship, I would avail myself of his offer. About a week afterwards Captain Larkins visited me to say it had just been privately communicated to him that his ship, the *Warren Hastings*, would shortly be ordered to sea to convey native troops to Madras; in which case he observed an excellent opportunity would offer for me to try what the air of the sea would do for me, and that in all probability he should not be more than six weeks away from Bengal. I thereupon informed him of the civil offer Captain Douglas had made me, to which Captain Larkins replied confidentially that Captain Douglas had got into a serious

¹ Apparently towards the end of 1790.—Ed.

scrape with the Government of Bengal by the intemperate language he had recently held wherever he went, denying the Governor-General's power over the Indiamen, and declaring that if his ship had been fixed upon as one to be employed in transporting troops he would have resisted the order and positively refused to act upon such service. "Now," added Captain Larkins, "the consequence of such monstrous folly will be that the *Queen* instead of being despatched to Bombay as was intended, and which voyage would have been highly advantageous to him, will now, as you will soon find, be employed in a different and to her commander a very disagreeable manner; with me, therefore, you must go, and from this moment I consider you my passenger!" I now began seriously to think of going the voyage, especially as my partner, Mr. Turner, strongly urged me to it as an advisable and prudent measure in my weak state of health.

At this period a melancholy accident happened to a young friend of mine which greatly distressed me. Mr. William Simpson, an advocate at the Supreme Court, and the Company's junior counsel, who had two sisters, very agreeable women in whose society I lived a good deal, was remarkably fond of field sports. Being out upon a hunting party at a place called Aneelpore, about fifteen miles from the Presidency, in scouring the borders of a thick jungle or wood he was attacked either by a small tiger or a leopard, he could not tell which. The animal, as he was trotting along on horseback, sprang upon him from the bushes and struck him with his paw upon the fleshy part of the thigh a little above the knee, making a small wound with his talons. The horse, terrified at the approach of the ferocious beast, suddenly bounced on one side, throwing off his rider, and set out full speed. The sice being close at hand soon summoned some of the gentlemen of the party to his master's assistance, who beat about the jungle some time but could not discover the animal. They then conveyed Mr. Simpson to their tents, congratulating him upon his wonderful escape, for from the smallness of the wound he had received they had not the least apprehension of any bad consequence.

Mr. Simpson, however, was greatly alarmed, and expressing much anxiety to be at home his companions early the next morning put him into a palanquin and had him conveyed to Calcutta, his thigh being swelled and becoming painful.

Mr. Dick, the surgeon, was sent for, who examined the wound, which he immediately pronounced not to be material and, ordering that it might be fomented, said he would be very well in a few hours, the irritation being caused by the violent exercise he had taken. Towards the evening Mr. Simpson complained of violent shooting pains in his thigh and leg, whereupon Mr. Dick was again summoned, who still retained his former opinion, asserting the wound to be of no consequence, and only desiring that the fomentation might be continued. The learned surgeon, however, betrayed his ignorance upon this occasion; in the course of the night a mortification took place and in ten hours afterwards his patient was dead. At eight o'clock the following morning I attended his corpse to the grave. This unfortunate young man was the eldest son of a gentleman who had for many years prior to the troubles in America filled the office of His Majesty's Attorney-General at Charles Town, South Carolina.

By letters from England I had the gratification of hearing that Mr. William Dunkin would undoubtedly succeed to the vacant seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court. We also had the pleasure to hear that General Meadows had been successful in some partial engagement with Tippoo's troops, and had taken the fortress of Coimbatore; but still Lord Cornwallis thought his movements were too tardy and inefficient and determined to go himself and take the command of the British Army in the Mysore country. Sir Richard Strahan, in consequence, received directions to get the *Vestal* ready to convey the noble lord and his suite to Fort St. George, notwithstanding the north-east monsoon was by no means settled and they were therefore liable to extreme bad weather.

Stephen Casson, Esquire, an Irishman of good connections who had been Mr. William Dunkin's chum in housekeeping previous to the latter's departure for Europe, and with whom

I, of course, was very intimate, unfortunately became enamoured of a strange, eccentric girl, daughter of Captain Meares, who for many years commanded the Company's ship *Egmont*, and contrary to the advice of all his friends he married her. She was a strange, rattling, wild creature, profuse and extravagant in the greatest degree. For my own part I always thought her a little deranged in mind. One evil attending this inconsiderate wedding was that Mr. Casson was induced to live beyond his income and soon became so deeply involved in debt as to make a change of residence necessary. He suddenly embarked for Bombay with a view to practice as an Advocate in the Mayor's Court, where he heard there was a great opening, and for some time he met with all the success he could expect or hope for, but being attacked with a violent spitting of blood it ended in his death, leaving his widow and one male child totally unprovided for. This caused another call upon my charity, a subscription for their relief being raised among the friends of the deceased.

The breaking up of the rains this season was attended with much fatal illness, and a number of the European inhabitants of Calcutta were carried off; in the month of September alone there were upwards of seventy funerals. Amongst the deaths was Mrs. Russell Deare, wife of Colonel Deare of the Artillery. Upon the husband's being ordered to proceed to the coast with a detachment going to act against Tippoo, the disconsolate wife sickened and never afterwards held up her head. She entertained an idea that he would be killed, frequently declaring to her friends, who kindly endeavoured to laugh her out of her low spirits, that she was perfectly sure she never should see her husband again. She shut herself in her private apartments, from which she could not be drawn, and gradually declined, falling at last a martyr to her sensibility. It was a singular circumstance that the Colonel lost his life almost in the same moment that she expired, being literally cut in two by a cannon-ball at the storming of the Fort of Bangalore, which, although the British succeeded in taking it, was

dearly purchased with the lives of many valuable officers and brave soldiers.

This season Colonel John Mordaunt, eldest natural son of the old Earl of Peterborough, of whom I have before spoken, died at Lucknow, being carried off by a fever.

Colonel Floyd, of the King's Dragoons, just at this time had a most gallant action with a body of Tippoo's troops that outnumbered his tenfold, notwithstanding which immense superiority Colonel Floyd cut his way through the enemy and effected his retreat, but of course with considerable loss. The whole Army were delighted with the brilliancy of the action. No notice whatsoever being taken of it by either of the Presidencies greatly disgusted the Army and every person connected with it, the common opinion being that the omission arose from General Mowdows being jealous of the superior military genius of Colonel Floyd.

Early in December Captain Larkins informed me he had received orders to prepare the ship with all possible dispatch to convey four hundred sepoys, with their followers, baggage, et cetera, and their officers to Madras, and he hoped to be ready in sixteen days at the latest; Captain Larkins further informed me that in consequence of Captain Douglas impertinently and foolishly attempting to oppose the orders of Government, had the very unpleasant change made of bullocks instead of men. He was directed to receive three hundred head of cattle, and given to understand that if the slightest demur was made, or any want of attention shewn towards the animals in transporting them to Madras, the command of the *Queen* would be taken from him and he sent a prisoner to England!—So much for kicking against authority.

Lord Cornwallis, with his staff officers, left Calcutta on the 4th of December, proceeded down the river to the *Vestal* frigate, which they reached the next morning, and in the course of the day sailed for Fort St. George. On their passage they encountered very rough, boisterous weather; Sir Richard Strahan afterwards told me that during one twenty-four hours he had given up the ship in his own mind

as irrecoverably lost, it blowing a tremendous gale dead on shore : he also said that had the frigate once touched the ground every soul on board must have perished. Happily the *Vestal* was one of the finest vessels in the British Navy, having a crew of as capital seamen on board as ever entered a ship, and to their extraordinary exertions and skill Sir Richard said he owed the preservation of the ship.

In India every person moves from place to place without the least trouble ; all that is necessary is to tell your head servant where you are going and for what length of time. This was what I did respecting my intended trip to Madras, and with the utmost ease I could have started twelve hours after Captain Larkins's communication to me. Captain Thornhill, the master attendant, hearing I was going the voyage in the *Warren Hastings*, kindly sent to say a pilot schooner should be at my service to convey me to the ship, which lay at the Barrabulla, a wild place surrounded with dangerous sands at the mouth of the river Hooghly ; this offer I gladly accepted. My friend, Mr. Frushard, also insisted upon my taking with me a very fine pinnace of his, in case I should prefer sleeping in her to the schooner on my way to the ship, she having every sort of accommodation and being fitted up in a most elegant style.

Mr. William Burke, who was to have accompanied Lord Cornwallis to the coast, being indisposed at the time the *Vestal* sailed, took his passage the latter end of the month in the *Prince William Henry* Indiaman, which ship was engaged by Government to transport military stores to the Army.

Christmas Eve was fixed upon by Captain Larkins for our departure from Calcutta, a few days previous to which I had at a dinner at my house, Doctor Allen, then recently come from the Upper Provinces to pass a month or two at the Presidency, as my guest ; also Mr. Benjamin Mee, Rundell and Ross. I was so ill that in the middle of dinner I was obliged to leave the table and lay down upon a couch, where my kind-hearted and interesting favourite native woman Jemdane sat by my side anxiously watching my

varying countenance as the agonizing pain I endured increased or diminished. In vain did I endeavour to sleep, being provented by dreadful spasms in my stomach. My friends, having finished their wine, almost in total silence from fear of disturbing me, assembled round the couch on which I was laying when Rundell, after looking earnestly in my face, emphatically said: "That you suffer excruciating pain I have not the least doubt, and yet I do not conceive you to be in danger; nay, I declare so far from it that I think it very possible you may live to see out every person now present." This struck me as a strange speech; it has, nevertheless, been completely verified; the last survivor of the above-mentioned party has been dead several years.

On Christmas Eve, as previously settled, Captain Larkins and myself, with a Portuguese servant I had hired to go the voyage with me, as no one of my Bengal swarry would consent to encounter the briny ocean, embarked in the pilot schooner, which was commanded by Mr. Gollodge, one of the most respectable and experienced pilots in the service, and reached the *Warren Hastings* the following afternoon. We found the whole of the sepoys already on board. Upon entering the cuddy, we saw Captain Colebrooke and four other officers sitting at the table with hookahs in their mouths. Captain Larkins had previously told me that upon no account would he allow smoking on board his ship, but having neglected to direct his officers to prevent the admission of hookahs and finding the military passengers had been for three days in the constant use of them, he deemed it better to let them continue than give offence by putting a stop to them. They therefore continued in the use of their hookahs during the voyage.

Previous to the time I am now writing of, sepoys never could be prevailed upon to set foot on board ship, but their extraordinary respect for Lord Cornwallis and attachment to his person proved sufficient to induce them to surmount their long-established prejudices; a circumstance that has since, in many instances, been of incalculable advantage to the East India Company by thus affording opportunities

of a quick and comparatively cheap transportation of troops from one part of Asia to another in cases of emergency. Every degree of attention was paid to the comfort and accommodation of the sepoy, both Mohammedans and Hindoos, in the different ships on which they embarked. The Hindoos especially, from the pertinacity of their castes, required the utmost circumspection in order to avoid infringing upon any of their religious rights and ceremonies : they therefore had their own water-casks, and filled by their Brahmins, who sealed each cask as it was made ready with their seals. As they could not eat any sort of provision dressed on board ship, dried fruits, sweetmeats, and different kinds of grain were in like manner made ready on shore by their own people and sent to the ship under charge of Brahmin sepoy, who used the same precautions as had been taken with the water. These poor creatures had been led to suppose they should not be more than five days in reaching Madras, instead of which we did not arrive there until the 11th of January, 1791, owing to light winds and calms. The weather was delightfully pleasant and the sea the whole way as smooth as glass. From the unexpected length of passage the sepoy's stock of provisions and water was expended two days before we got to Madras, and we began to be dreadfully alarmed on their account, but the gentle and mildly disposed people bore the deprivation and want of sustenance with a patient resignation peculiar to them ; not a complaint nor even a murmur was uttered by any one of them. Happy indeed did we feel upon letting go an anchor in Madras roads. Lord Cornwallis, all anxiety, was himself upon the beach hastening the dispatch of the Masulah boats to convey the sepoy to the shore. To our great surprize we learnt that the *Prince William Henry*, which sailed from Bengal two days before us, with Mr. Burke on board, had not yet arrived. I did not find that the voyage in the least improved my health.

Our anchor was scarcely in the ground when I observed the Government accommodation boat coming off with my friend Mr. Hugh Macaulay Boyd, who was then master

attendant at Madras, in it. Upon coming on board the *Warren Hastings* he told me he had heard from one of the commanders that arrived a week before of my intention to accompany Captain Larkins to Madras: he therefore, upon seeing his ship's signal flying while running in, immediately came off in order to convey me to his house, where he said I must be during my stay, an apartment with everything requisite being prepared for my reception. In answer to this civil invitation I informed him I had written from Calcutta to Mr. Porcher, to let him know I was coming to Madras for a week or ten days and that no doubt but he would expect me to take up my lodgings with him. Mr. Boyd remarked that could not be, as Mr. Porcher's house was under repair, and himself living with a friend.

Upon this circumstance being mentioned I agreed to accompany Mr. Boyd on shore. His house was pleasantly situated close to the sea line, commanding a full view of the sea with the shipping in the roads. He shewed me into an excellent room as set apart for my bedchamber. I, however, observed that although there was a bedstead there was neither mattress, pillows, curtains, nor any one necessary article to put upon it. This I mentioned to Mr. Boyd in as delicate terms as possible, who thereupon said I might depend upon it everything would be properly arranged within half an hour. He then called his favourite and confidential servant whom he introduced to me as a man of superlative merit and his factotum, saying in his presence, "Whatever you want, Hickey, only speak to this person, whose name is Swamy, and he'll get it instantly, he having charge of my wines, liquors in general, in short of everything the house affords. All I desire is that you will in every respect do as if you were at home, and consider yourself master here. I am particularly happy too (added he) that to-day we shall have quite a snug party, for I only expect two besides ourselves, whereas frequently a dozen or more drop in a little before dinner-time without any previous notice: this, however, I shall endeavour to prevent while you are here, as I am sure a crowd must be disagreeable to you. As I recollect

you are a great poultry-man, I have ordered a fine capon for you to-day such as I believe you never see even at your luxurious Calcutta tables." He then apologized for leaving me, being obliged to go to the Bankshall to attend to the duties of his office.

The captain of the *Hawke* Indiaman, who happened to be present during Boyd's kind speech to me, upon his (Boyd's) leaving the apartment said, "As I prosume, Mr. Hickey, you are perfectly well acquainted with the style of our friend Hugh Boyd, it may appear superfluous in me to attempt to put you upon your guard." As he paused after saying this much, I assured him, as the fact was, that all I knew of Mr. Boyd was that he was an old and intimate friend of my family's, as well as of Mr. Burke's and Lord Macartney's; that I had often met him in dining-parties at the former's, and during his visits to Calcutta he had often dined with me, but that I never had resided in the same house with him, and should be glad to know against what it was he meant "to put me upon my guard." To this the Captain replied, "In the world there does not exist a more generous, open-hearted fellow than the man we are speaking of, Hugh Boyd, who certainly means that every promise he makes should be accomplished, and I have no doubt supposes that you, or any other guest of his, will not have a want unsupplied in his house. Now in plain truth, his own wants are so few, and he is so easily pleased that nothing like the common comforts every gentleman is used to is to be found within his doors. His mansion is as deficient in furniture as his table is of liquors or provisions. I conclude you have noticed the state of the chamber he has set apart for you to sleep in. I am perfectly acquainted therewith, and unless you can make up your mind to take it as it is, that is, without bedding or mosquito curtains, and with that noxious and troublesome insect the Fort abounds, I recommend your sending to the *Warren Hastings* for your own cot and furniture, for nothing of the kind has Boyd, nor do I believe he is owner of a single pair of sheets. It is the same with respect to his spirituous liquors of which he

talks so freely. Look therefore to yourself; above all things, let me advise you to steer clear of his claret, which to you as an invalid would prove poisonous, being the most miserable rot gut stuff that ever man swallowed! If he had not the constitution of a horse it must ere this have destroyed him, scarce a day passing without his drinking at least a couple bottles of it, apparently, too, without sustaining injury from it. As to sleeping apparatus, he knows nothing of the matter; bed he has none. If at home, he throws himself upon a couch in his *Dufta Connah* (office), but five nights out of every seven his resting-place is his palankeen, which the bearers set down upon the *Glacis*, he invariably being shut out of the Fort from the late hours he is in the habit of keeping."

I availed myself of the broad hints thus given me, directly sending off my servant to the *Warren Hastings* to bring on shore my cot with its appendages, likewise a capital liquor case, containing the best spirits of every sort, and several other useful domestic articles, and well it was that I did so, for otherwise I should have been miserably off.

Two o'clock being the dining hour, I, in the morning desired Swamy, the accomplished and provident Swamy, to let me have a half-pint basin of chicken broth, about one, having been recommended by the doctors to take some at that hour. Swamy salaamed, but as no broth appeared I enquired the reason, when with the utmost composure he said, "The cook did not know how to make chicken broth."

Seeing the servants laying the cloth with fourteen covers, I mentioned to Swamy that Mr. Boyd had told me he only expected two guests, upon which Swamy, after a loud laugh, said, "My master expect two guests; my master not know whether two or two and twenty come; presently you, master, can see how many come. I think by and by this long table not long enough," and Swamy proved right, for by two o'clock thirteen were assembled, and by the time the worst dinner I ever beheld was served the number had increased to eighteen. The table being lengthened to receive them we, about half-past two, sat down. The much boasted

of capon proved as impenetrable to human teeth as if it had been of wood. Fortunately there was a knuckle of veal, boiled literally to rags, of which I contrived to make a meal.

By way of trying the strength of my host's cellar, I beckoned to Swamy, who upon approaching I desired to bring me some brandy and water, with a little sugar in it; at the same time whispering my servant to get me a glass, Swamy said, "Yes, master," In a few minutes he returned with a large glass of so well mixed and excellent spirit as to occasion me considerable surprize; but perceiving my Portuguese with a broad grin upon his countenance, I began to suspect it was my own brandy, which I found upon enquiry to be the case, Mr. Boyd having neither brandy, rum, nor gin, nor in fact any other liquor than the commonest pariah arrack, nor was a morsel of sugar procurable; yet with all this wretched poverty and miserable fare in point of victuals, Mr. Boyd presided at the head of his table with as much ease and apparent satisfaction as if he had placed before him the best of dinners.

In about an hour after the cloth was removed I left the party in order to walk upon the ramparts, and having made my servant find out where Mrs. Cairnes resided, I went to drink tea and pass the evening with her. I found her with her lovely family of children all looking admirably well. She requested I would speak to Captain Larkins about a passage for herself and children to England as she was desirous of returning to Europe as soon as possible. I accordingly did apply to my friend Larkins, who to oblige me consented to accommodate them and that too upon much easier terms than any other commander would have done.

Between nine and ten o'clock at night, concluding Mr. Boyd's guests would have left him ere that hour, I went home; but had scarcely entered the door from the street when I had abundant proof of their being still in the house, a most tremendous noise assailing my ears. Apparently the whole party were singing, though from the strange discord it seemed that every man present sang a different

song. Walking gently upstairs I peeped into the apartment wherein we had dined, which was a long, narrow gallery. There I saw Mr. Boyd, Mr. Hall, Mr. Chalmers (the two latter being attorneys of the Mayor's Court), Mr. Home the painter, a Mr. Cock, and three or four others whose names I did not know, all hold of each other's hands. The fact is the whole set were so beastly drunk not one of them could have stood alone, each requiring the support of the person that stood next. This curious set were dancing, or rather staggering, round the table, each, as I have already observed, screeching out part of a song.

I at once saw how utterly impossible it was for me to gain access to my chamber, the dining-table being placed directly before the door of it leaving scarcely space sufficient for a person to squeeze by ; I therefore made no attempt to do so, but again sallied forth and rambled about the Fort until near midnight, when I again took a peep and saw the party was reduced to three, two of whom were laying with their heads down upon the table. I therefore conceived I might venture in, and boldly marching up, my servant opened the door, and we went unmolested and, I believe, unnoticed. This sample of what I had to expect during my stay made me resolve to shift my quarters the next day to Captain Larkins's, who had a house taken for him previous to his arrival and had pressed me to accept an apartment in it.

The following morning Mr. Boyd was so good-humoured and expressed such extreme concern at my having been so annoyed the preceding day, which he said he would take care should not occur again, as he would remove me to a quieter part of the house where I might at all times have access to my room, that I did not like to hurt his feelings, as I knew it would have done to talk of removing to Captain Larkins's or anywhere else, and I determined to remain where I was. Immediately after breakfast Mr. Boyd made his servants remove my bed and baggage into another chamber, where I was comfortably lodged beyond hearing the noise of his riotous guests.

CHAPTER II

1791

IN MADRAS WITH FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES AND RETURN VOYAGE TO CALCUTTA IN THE *WARREN HASTINGS*

I WENT to visit Captain Larkins, who I was sorry to find seriously indisposed with a complaint in his bowels, of which he had had a slight attack previously to leaving Calcutta which gave him much alarm.

From Captain Larkins's I went to pay my respects to Lord Cornwallis, who received me most courteously, but said he was so much engaged in business of the utmost importance that he could only shake hands and congratulate me on my safe arrival. Captain Apsley, one of his Lordship's aides-de-camp, then told me he really wondered how his Lordship could undergo the fatigue, being night and day in conference with natives of rank and abilities, endeavouring to obtain information, or in writing and receiving dispatches to and from the Army: he only waiting the arrival of the bullocks from Bengal to take the field in person, and assume the chief command.

The accounts from the Army were of a very disastrous and discouraging nature. Tippoo seemed to be carrying everything before him, having the policy cautiously to avoid a general battle, contenting himself with harassing our line of march, cutting off the foraging parties, preventing the approach of supplies, keeping large bodies of his cavalry always hovering round about us, murdering the stragglers and camp followers, at times attacking and partially plundering the baggage itself. He also had engaged great

numbers of freebooters, who, availing themselves of the confused state of the country, advanced almost to the gates of Madras, marking their progress by fire and sword, and spreading ruin and desolation in all directions, burning whole villages, massacring the wretched inhabitants without distinction, violating their wives and daughters, and carrying into slavery the male children whom they sold at the public markets the same as cattle. They likewise burnt or wantonly destroyed most of the European gentlemen's country seats at the Mount, Choultry Plain, and the neighbourhood in every direction of Fort St. George. The most serious evil arising from these incursions of the enemy was their totally destroying the magnificent cantonments for the cavalry at Wallaujaubad which had been erected by the Company at an expence of upwards of four lacs of pagodas. It was a very beautiful structure, sufficiently extensive to receive and perfectly accommodate ten thousand horses with the same number of men; of this superb edifice the malignant rascals scarce left one brick upon another, so effectually did they demolish it.

Lord Cornwallis publicly expressed himself highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the British commanders, threatening to make severe examples of some officers holding distinguished situations. The Grand Army, after having been within sixty miles of Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo's dominions, suddenly, no one knowing why or wherefore, stopped short, and then retreated to Arnee within the Carnatic, by rapid marches. At that Fort the main body halted, but four regiments of cavalry with a considerable number of infantry proceeded to within sixteen miles of Madras, where Lord Cornwallis ordered them to halt, saying he would return with that body of troops to Arnee, and from thence proceed to assume the command of the Army, as he yet hoped to do something decisive against the enemy, though those supposed to be the best acquainted with that part of the country considered the season too far advanced for any effectual measure being carried into execution previous to the breaking up of the monsoon, when

it would be impossible for the military to act. Until the cattle, and the remainder of the troops and stores should arrive his Lordship could not with propriety move, the Army being in dreadful want of many material articles, especially of draught bullocks.

I was rejoiced to see Mr. Josias Du Pre Porcher looking remarkably well, with several fine children about him. His wife appeared to me a silly, pert and vain woman.

Upon my return home from my morning's ramble I found Mr. Stephen Popham had done me the honour to leave his card, but as I did not approve of his conduct relative to my ill-treated friend Mr. Cane, to Dicky Roberts, and other instances he had shewn of the want of liberality if not common honesty, I resolved to have no further intercourse with him, therefore never returned his visit, and declined accepting an invitation he sent me to dine with him.

I also found the name of Arthur Forrest in my room, whom I directly went in search of. I met with him in the barracks, looking weatherbeaten and dejected; he nevertheless assured me he had enjoyed good health. He was then a lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers. In the course of conversation, he told me he had received some distressing accounts respecting his Jamaica estates, and of the base conduct of those persons to whom the management of them had been entrusted, they proving arrant knaves; that he had some thoughts of proceeding thither himself, provided he could obtain leave of absence which he was almost ashamed to apply for at so awkward a crisis as during an active war. He therefore requested I would use any interest I might have to procure the leave he sought without derogation to his character as a soldier. I thereupon went immediately to headquarters where, obtaining an audience of Colonel Ross, I stated to that gentleman the unpleasant situation Forrest was in, and how requisite his personal appearance in Jamaica was to rescue his property from the hands of the harpies then in possession who were plundering him without mercy. Colonel Ross saw the peculiar hardship of Forrest's case, and consequently told me I might depend

upon what I desired being complied with. Two days after this interview Forrest received a leave of absence for eighteen months, and during my stay at Madras he embarked on board an American ship that intended to touch at the West India islands on her voyage to South Carolina. It afforded me real satisfaction to have been thus useful to a man for whom and for whose family's welfare I felt deeply interested.

General Meadows was now daily expected at the Presidency for the purpose of consulting with Lord Cornwallis upon the state of affairs and what ought to be the future proceedings. One strong measure adopted in consequence of these consultations was the arrest of Mr. Edward Holland, a member of the Council of Madras and brother to the gentleman who had recently been Governor. Mr. Holland was taken into custody by a military party, and without the least pause, or being suffered to have any communication with his friends, was sent on board the *Rodney* East Indiaman, then laying in the Roads under dispatch for Europe, the captain of her in his instructions being directed to keep him a close prisoner until he should land him in England and receive the orders of the Court of Directors. As the captain of the *Rodney* made some objections to receiving Mr. Holland under such extraordinary circumstances, on account of the responsibility he laid himself open to for so violent a proceeding, stating that he thereby became liable to a prosecution for assault and false imprisonment, Lord Cornwallis seeing the force of the captain's representation, at once, in his official capacity, undertook to bear the said captain harmless. Report gave out that the charges against Mr. Holland were of a most serious nature, being nothing short of treason, for he was said to have been discovered in a dangerous correspondence with the enemy. What the final issue was, I do not now recollect, but certainly it ended in no serious attack upon Mr. Holland.

On the 14th the *Fitzwilliam* and *William Pitt* Indiamen, both full of troops and military stores, arrived in the Roads, to the unspeakable joy of Lord Cornwallis, who

then only wanted the *Queen* and the *Prince William Henry* to complete the stock of expected stores. Neither of these two vessels reached Madras during my stay at that Settlement.

It was a matter of real concern to me to perceive that Captain Larkins's malady gained ground, so much so, that I became seriously alarmed. I knew too, from the confidential interviews I had with him, that he gave himself up, a circumstance greatly against an invalid in any part of the world, but more particularly so in a hot climate where spirits are everything. I exerted my utmost endeavours to lessen his despondency and cheer him, and although I succeeded in my object whilst present, the moment I left him he drooped again, becoming as dejected as ever; it was therefore a great satisfaction to me to hear that we were to be dispatched for Bengal on the 25th.

Mr. White, a young Irishman bred to the law in Dublin, who, at the special request of Mr. William Dunkin I had taken into my office as clerk, giving him a high salary, in which situation he remained until Mr. Dunkin got him admitted an attorney of the Mayor's Court at Madras, in which capacity he met with success beyond his most sanguine hopes, treated me with the utmost degree of attention during my stay at Madras, always expressing the great obligations he felt himself under to me for my reception of him which proved the foundation of his fortune. His house, carriages and horses were ever at my command, and he appeared mortified that I did not fix upon his mansion as my residence.

On the 20th of January (1791) at break of day Lord Cornwallis left Fort St. George to join the Army, his departure being hastened by a discovery of the base treachery of a confidential native servant of General Meadows's, that officer's Banian, in whose principle and integrity he had placed the utmost reliance, looking up to him for information and assistance upon every emergency. This villain, who was related to the most respectable families upon the coast of Coromandel and possessed great personal influence

from his abilities and connections ; who had, too, been brought up from early infancy among the English, was the chief agent employed to procure the requisite supplies of provisions for the British Army in the field, likewise to engage spies to watch the motions of Tippoo's troops and furnish information, for which he drew immense sums of money, pretending that he expended the same on *secret service*, and so in truth he did, but it was as a confirmed traitor, for not a foraging party or the smallest escort ever left the British camp that he did not give notice of to the enemy, from which every plan of operation, every undertaking of General Meadows, was frustrated, to the utter dismay and surprize of that officer, who so far from entertaining the most distant suspicion of his treacherous and deceitful servant, actually consulted him upon the most likely means of discovering the channel through which all his plans were foiled and rendered abortive. So artful was this fellow, that but for an accident his infamous conduct might have continued undiscovered to our entire ruin. One of his hircarrahs being accidentally killed by the kick of a horse, in receiving the deadly blow his turban fell off, from which a paper was picked up and was found to be a letter from his master to an officer of rank in Tippoo's service, containing information of much importance respecting the intentions of the English commander. His discovery brought the whole matter to light, the Banian was taken into custody and sent a prisoner to Madras, where he was tried and sentenced to death, but respited upon his promising to inform against other perfidious servants of the East India Company, who held situations of high trust and responsibility and betrayed the confidence placed in them in the same manner he had done, by holding a traitorous correspondence with the enemy. Two of the natives thus informed against, and who were men upon whose attachment to the English the utmost reliance had been placed, made their escape, thereby saving themselves from an ignominious death ; a third was secured and suffered the punishment due to his crimes. The discovery of such perfidy put Lord

Cornwallis so much upon his guard that he never afterwards relied upon any native whatsoever.

On the 25th of January Captain Larkins and I embarked for Bengal, taking with us as a passenger Stephen Laprimaudaye, Esq. (a nephew of the rich Tessier's), who having been unsuccessful in some deep speculations he had entered into in England, determined to try what he could do in the mercantile line at Calcutta. At that season of the year we expected to have been from twenty to twenty-five days upon the passage, the wind usually blowing fresh from the north-east and northward, instead of which upon my getting up on the morning of the 26th I found the ship running at the rate of six knots an hour with the yards square, studding-sails being set on both sides. The wind, to the astonishment of every person on board, was from the south-west, in which quarter it continued, so that by noon of the 31st we let go an anchor in Balasore roads, half an hour after doing which we saw a schooner approaching. This proved to be our friend Golledge, who had just returned from piloting a large China ship out. He directly came on board and taking charge conducted the *Warren Hastings* to her moorings at Diamond harbour, from whence he conveyed Captain Larkins, Mr. Laprimaudaye and me to Calcutta in his schooner, which place we reached on the 2nd of February, thus completing an uncommonly rapid voyage to Madras and back, having been absent only five weeks and four days. I found my favourite native woman, Jemdanee, perfectly well and greatly rejoiced at my return, my friend Doctor Allen still continuing my guest.

Soon after my return Mr. Rundell became so reduced from constant rheumatic attacks, which confined him for weeks together to his couch, totally preventing his attending to the business of the stage, that he resolved to try change of air by making a voyage to Bombay as soon as ever he could bear to be moved.

Three days after the *Warren Hastings* left Madras, on her return to Calcutta, the *Littlejohn* packet, Captain Buchanan, arrived in those roads from England. By this vessel I

received letters communicating the agreeable information that Mr. William Dunkin would undoubtedly be appointed to the vacant seat upon the Bench of the Supreme Court, Sir Robert Chambers, who had ever since the departure of Sir Elijah Impey presided as senior puisne judge, being nominated Chief Justice in the place of Sir Elijah removed.

Upon my return home I found the society of Calcutta much divided in opinion and very violent, upon a subject the cause of which had arisen during my absence. Lieutenant-Colonel Showers accused Lieutenant O'Halaran—a strong-backed Irishman who lived in habits of the greatest intimacy with the Colonel and his family—of taking very unwarrantable liberties with Mrs. Showers, and also with a young female friend who lived under her protection. The Hibernian indignantly repelled the attack, with a becoming spirit insisting that the Colonel should state the grounds upon which he made so serious a charge. This the Colonel either would not, or could not comply with : whereupon O'Halaran sent him a challenge for infamously aspersing his character. The gallant Colonel, however, refused either to meet him or to apologize, which led O'Halaran to tell him he was a scoundrel and a coward ; terms, strong as they were, the Colonel quietly submitted to.

The corps to which the Colonel belonged, conceiving such conduct reflected in some degree upon them, and indeed upon the whole Army, sent in a memorial upon the occasion to Colonel Morgan, the then acting Commander-in-Chief at the Presidency, the consequence of which was Colonel Showers's being brought to a court martial and tried for ungentlemanlike behaviour in falsely accusing a brother officer of an enormous offence, and when called upon by the injured person to substantiate the charge thus made, positively refusing so to do. The sentence was never published. According to the usual routine it was, together with the whole of the proceedings, sent to Lord Cornwallis, in his double capacity of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, when his Lordship, instead of confirming or disapproving the sentence, referred the matter to the Court of

Directors, who the ensuing season sent out an order dismissing Lieutenant-Colonel Showers from their service.

In the month of February my namesake, Mr. Thomas Hickey, the painter, took his passage for England on board the *Earl Fitzwilliam*, not overburthened with riches. This was the ship that conveyed Mr. William Burke to Madras,¹ at which place they did not arrive until the 28th of January, having had a very tedious passage from Bengal, owing to frequent and long-continued calms. Two days after Mr. Burke landed he set off to join the Army.

Mr. Davies, the Advocate-General, finding his health declining, took his passage for Europe; but as the time approached for the ship's sailing he fancied himself much better and therefore resolved to remain at his post another season, to which determination he fell a sacrifice, as many besides him have done, from too eager a desire to accumulate money. His death brought to my recollection an epitaph I had formerly read upon the tombstone of a Dutch gentleman at Sadras on the coast of Coromandel :

"Mynheer Gludenstack lies interred here,
Who intended to have gone home next year."

My London antagonist and *ci-devant* rival, Captain Henry Mordaunt, fell a martyr to the climate this season. He had been some time in possession of the lucrative appointment of Commandant of the Fortress of Buxar, where he died, but not before he had amassed a fortune of full ten thousand pounds, the whole of which his mother, Lady Peterborough, received, the Crown having very liberally relinquished all claim to the property of the deceased who, by reason of his illegitimacy, could have no legal heir.

When my health declined so much as to induce me first, to leave off wine, and afterwards to try what a voyage would do, I thought it prudent to give up the office of Noble Grand of the Society of Bucks, and accordingly delivered in my resignation, whereupon Mr. George Elliot was elected in my stead. On my return from Madras I received a summons

¹ On pp. 6 and 8 the *Prince William Henry* is named as the ship—Ed.

to attend a Lodge, which I obeyed. Upon my entering the room the newly chosen Noble Grand addressed me in a very flattering and highly complimentary speech, which having finished, he, in his own name and the names of the Lodge in general, presented me with a very rich and handsome jewel, to be worn as the French order of the Croix de St. Louis formerly used to be, that is, suspended to a ribbon tied to the third buttonhole of the coat. It was made in the form of a star, the diameter thereof being about three inches. In the centre was a stag couchant, of gold, upon a blue and green ground of enamel, the words "Honour, the reward of merit" being engraved round the circle that enclosed the stag. The star itself was beautifully set with one hundred and forty small brilliants that sparkled prodigiously. On the reverse was very neatly engraved the following words: "Presented by the Asiatic Bucks Lodgo to Noble Buck William Hickey, their first Noble Grand, as a mark of esteem and respect on his quitting the Chair in November, 1790, after holding the office three years." It was altogether an elegant, well-executed piece of workmanship, doing Mr. Mair, the mechanic who made it, great credit.

My friend Captain Larkins not at all mending in health during our passage from Fort St. George, I persuaded him upon our arrival in Calcutta to come and reside at my house, which was better situated than his own, far quieter, and in every respect preferable. By great care and attention to his diet, as well as regularity in administering his medicine, I had the gratification to see him daily less afflicted with the disease that had proved so obstinate and so long annoyed him, and before his final departure from Bengal, which was in the month of March, he was nearly recovered. In return for what he was pleased to call my extraordinary attention and kindness, to which alone he declared himself indebted for his existence, he urged me to go with him to Europe, being convinced it would re-establish my health. As an inducement he offered me the starboard half of his great cabin; nay, so zealous was he to carry his good-natured object into effect that he privately spoke both to Dr. Hare

and to my partner, Mr. Turner, urging them to advise my going the voyage. The Doctor candidly said he could not recommend so serious a step as necessary, though he thought it probable I might derive benefit from the sea air. Mr. Turner, on the other hand, pressed me in the most friendly manner to accept Captain Larkins's offer, and make the trial, at the same time offering me a credit upon London to any amount I pleased, and kindly assuring me my absence would be no material detriment, he being certain of retaining the native clients, whose business he could always attend to : besides which, while away I should be saving the expence of a large establishment of servants, which, added to the stoppage of house rent, would at least balance the expence I should incur by the trip.

These were strong temptations : but recollecting the improvident jaunts I had already made, I conceived a third such would be pronounced superlative folly ; I therefore resisted the offer of Captain Larkins, determining, let the consequence be what it might, to remain at my post, and pursue the duties of my profession. Fortunate it turned out that I did so, for a few days after the *Warren Hastings* sailed, Mr. Turner was seized with a violent and very dangerous attack of liver, which confined him to his chamber eleven weeks, so that if I had not been upon the spot to attend to the management of the causes then in our office, the business must have been at a stand, and both Turner and myself been great sufferers if not have lost some of our best Hindostanee clients.

In the middle of March I received a very pleasant letter from Mr. William Burke, wherein he told me that he made an admirable soldier, having borne the fatigue of a twelve days' rapid march just like a stripling ! that he was more talked of, and more enquiries were made after the Paymaster-General than all the Staff of the Army ; that he was also the cause of much laughter, fun and pleasantry throughout the camp : that upon the Line's first breaking ground in the mornings he always rode on horseback for two hours, then getting into his palankeen as the heat of the sun increased

and became oppressive. He further informed me that Lord Cornwallis treated him with the utmost degree of kindness, shewing him all possible respect and insisting upon his considering himself as one of his family ; at table he always placed him on his right hand, a circumstance not only gratifying to his vanity but saving him an enormous expence, as from Lord Cornwallis's thus treating him he had no stock, no liquors, or any article of provision to purchase, nor any serious establishment of servants to pay, all Lord Cornwallis's people being directed to attend to and obey Mr. Burke just as they would their master.

The *Littlejohn* packet arrived off Calcutta this month, most of my letters by her having been forwarded overland from Madras. She, however, brought me one from Mr. Dunkin which he had given in charge to Captain Buchanan. Mr. Dunkin therein told me that he had received the honour of knighthood upon being appointed one of His Majesty's Justices of the Supreme Court, and hoped to leave England in a few weeks as he was only waiting for his Patent which the Chancellor, Lord Thurlow, from being adverse to his appointment, had most unhandsomely and unwarrantably delayed fixing the Great Seal to. The prospect thus held out of soon seeing my attached friend was most grateful to me.

CHAPTER III

1791

NEW PLACES OF RESIDENCE. SIR WILLIAM DUNKIN AND HIS CHILDREN

UPON the commencement of the hot season Mr. Shaw, the barrister, with whom I lived upon familiar terms, proposed that we should jointly take a garden house for the three horridly dusty and disagreeable months of March, April and May, the procuring and furnishing of which he would undertake so that I should have no trouble whatever. I readily agreed, and he engaged a very large and commodious residence in Garden Reach, the last in that line, about seven miles and a half from Calcutta, beautifully situated within a few yards of the river, affording us the advantage of water as well as land carriage. It had nine large apartments and four smaller upon the ground floor, with six very spacious ones above stairs. Of the latter four were appropriated to my sole use, that Jemdanee and her female attendants might be sufficiently private and retired: the remaining two, which had a separate staircase to approach them, Mr. Shaw occupied. Below there was a noble dining, a similar breakfast room, a spacious sitting or drawing-room, as it would be styled in England, with a billiard-room adjoining. To fill the latter a very capital billiard table, made by Seddons, was purchased at the price of one thousand sicca rupees. The rest were made bedchambers of, for the use of our mutual friends. We opened house, citizen-like, on a Saturday, with a large party who did due honour to our commencement by drinking an immense quantity of claret. One of the guests, in the height of our festivity, observed that such a house ought not to be without a name which

would appropriately distinguish it. Several titles were in consequence proposed, such as "Sportman's Hall," "Bachelors' Hall," "Savoir vivre," and others of a less modest nature. After much laughable debating upon the subject a majority of the company were for "The White Lion," because, said they, all passengers will be ever welcome and sure of a hospitable reception within its walls. It was accordingly so christened. On Monday morning we all returned to town, our guests highly pleased with their entertainment.

My Jemdanee was so pleased with the novelty of the thing that nothing would satisfy her but remaining there entirely. She therefore sent for her establishment and settled herself in our upper rooms. Mr. Shaw usually went down at night to sleep. I preferred Calcutta, except on a Saturday night and Sunday, when I sometimes slept in the country. After residing there a fortnight or upwards Jemdanee sent me word she was extremely ill. Ordering my carriage, I immediately went down and found her with a considerable degree of fever, and all her servants more or less indisposed with aguish complaints. Taking her to town, I sent for Doctor Hare, who said it arose entirely from the dampness of the night air, which was peculiar to that part of the country in which our house stood, the wind constantly blowing over a large tract of salt marshes. After this report of the doctor's Jemdanee never would go to the Gardens nor did she ever more enter the house. I believe prejudice operated upon my mind, for I never afterwards went there without fancying myself ill, although I invariably returned to town at night. The few times that I did go to dine there I always took with me Mr. Benjamin Mee, Mr. Ross, Mr. Wilton, or some other friend that I knew preferred returning home to sleeping abroad.

This partnership concern between Mr. Shaw and me proved a very expensive one. Upon settling accounts at the end of the term for which the premises were engaged, my share of the charges amounted to no less a sum than seven thousand three hundred and odd sicca rupees.

Jemdanee early in June importuned me to take her an excursion up the river ; in consequence of which I hired the necessary boats, et cetera, and we sot off, but got no further than Chinsurah, the chief settlement of the Dutch in Bengal, for she was so delighted with the place that I was induced to take a house there. This town I have before spoken of, having visited it with my friend, Mr. Morse, in the year 1778. It is between twenty-five and thirty miles from Calcutta. Upon observing to Jemdanee that she had been equally pleased with the Garden house when we first went there, she exclaimed in Hindostannee, "Yes, I liked the White Lion very well until myself and all the servants became ill there ; this is quite another thing ; see how dry the walls and every part of the building is, no damp or unwholesome air here, and I'm sure it will agree with us all. I'm also sure I never shall tire of Chinsurah." She proved right ; it did agree with everybody wonderfully well, nor did she ever tire of the place.

I took from Mr. Shaw upon our joint concern ceasing, the billiard table, several of the cots (beds), and indeed most of the furniture of the White Lion, paying him the additional half of their prime cost, and caused the same to be conveyed to my new residence at Chinsurah. Mr. Shaw proposed to join me in the Dutch schome, and was extremely mortified at my declining his offer. But I told him as the fact was, that, although I knew it had no weight with him, yet I could not feel satisfied in having, independent of Jemdanee herself, a large establishment of female servants belonging to her, the charge of whose provisions had been included in the joint account, which it certainly ought not to have been : besides which I thought, for many reasons, it would be better for me to have a place to myself : that I should at all times be most happy to receive him as my guest, and the oftener he came the more should I feel obliged to him. He was kind enough to submit to my reasoning and promised that he would frequently be my visitor.

This house turned out quite the reverse to the White Lion, for the longer we had it the better we liked everything

about it. It suited our habits too: Jomdane became as stout and healthy as she had ever been, and I constantly found myself less liable to spasmodic attacks and less of an invalid altogether at Chinsurah than in Calcutta. Probably the exercise of going from one place to the other was attended with advantage, as it rendered early rising indispensable, and I was always moving about, the rides and drives in every direction about Chinsurah being exceedingly pretty. It was customary with me either to go up on Friday evening, especially during the moonlight nights, or early on Saturday morning, so as to reach Chinsurah by breakfast-time, usually returning to Fort William on Monday morning, though I sometimes made longer stays; nor did I ever go alone, always having some companion to partake of my fare, most frequently my much valued friend, Mr. Mee. Mr. Shaw likewise often spent three or four days at a time with me in the vacations when his attendance was not required in Court. I also sometimes invited the principal Dutch gentlemen of the place to dinner, upon which occasions we sat down from sixteen to twenty in number. As I treated my guests with all the luxuries that money could procure, and the Mynheers did complete justice to the champagne and burgundy I gave them, my disbursements were consequently very large.

My mode of moving backward and forward was in my own chariot and horses to what was called Cox's bungalow, being half-way between Calcutta and Pultah. From Cox's bungalow I either went on in the carriage of whoever happened to be my companion, such carriage having been previously sent for us, or hired a buggy and horse of the serjeant at the bungalow, who made a handsome profit by keeping those sort of vehicles for the convenience of gentlemen passing between Calcutta and Barrackpore. At Pultah we crossed the river Hooghley by a regular established ferry, and from the opposite side proceeded in my phaeton or buggy to Chinsurah, a distance of exactly nine miles. In performing this little journey, I seldom varied ten minutes either way, the average time it took being four hours,

including crossing the water, which at certain parts of the year, when the stream ran with great violence, occupied nearly half an hour. Whenever any of my old shipping acquaintances arrived at Calcutta I used to take them up with me to Chinsurah, where one and all seemed gratified by the manner I entertained them in.

In the month of July I had with me Captain Simson, chief mate of the *Seahorse* when I went out on her in the year 1777, Messrs. Mee, Mure, Ross, Martyn, Colonels MacGowan and Stewart, and my Garden Reach chum, John Shaw. Captain Simson then commanded a very fine Indianman called the *Fort William*, which ship had been built for him by Colonel Watson, Major Mestayer, and other men who had known him as an officer and were desirous of promoting his interest.

Having determined to make Chinsurah my settled country residence, and being aware of the endless trouble and disappointment of carrying certain things from place to place, having often found that what was asked for at the one was always said to be at the other, I resolved to prevent such inconvenience by purchasing an entire and full complement of every article required, either in the kitchen or at table, for the exclusive use of the Chinsurah house. I likewise soon discovered it would be requisite for me to have a boat by which I might occasionally go up or down as the tide suited.

Having frequently admired a paunceway belonging to the Custom House, I was ambitious of getting a similar one, to effect which I called upon Mr. Gillett, an eminent shipwright of Calcutta, to ask if he would do me the favour to let his workmen build one for me, which he readily consented to do, but recommended me to get the hull put together by a Bengallee in that line, who would be more likely to please me than his people, who were not at all in the habit of building the country boats; that if I would do this, he would get it properly fitted up, rigged, and coppered. I therefore adopted his advice, employing the same person that built the Custom House boat, but I particularly requested he would make any alteration in her construction

that he thought might make her row faster, my principal object being swiftness, and ease in pulling against the stream or tide. The man said the only improvement he could suggest would be to make her four or six inches narrower than the Custom House boat, which would certainly tend to her going faster in rowing, but would render her somewhat less safe, especially when under sail. I finally left it entirely to him to build such a boat as would beat every other of the same dimensions. He did me complete justice by producing one that out-rowed everything I ever fell in with, except the dacoits (thieves') boats, many of which are seventy feet in length and have forty men belonging to them.

My boat was forty-eight feet long by four and a half broad, and of course was neither safe nor pleasant when it blew strong enough to raise a swell. Mr. Gillett rigged and fitted her out in a beautiful style. Her establishment consisted of fourteen men—that is, twelve to row, one to steer, and one who always sits at the head of the boat to con, like a quartermaster on board ship giving notice to the helmsman when any impediment to the boat's proceeding appeared. She had a mainmast so taunt that I could set upon it a main-sail, main-topsail, and main-top-gallant-sail, and although I subsequently often carried all three, I cannot say I felt quite at my ease when the upper sails were hoisted, as from her flat bottom and having no sort of hold in the water, she might quickly upset; indeed it required the utmost attention when she was under sail. Luckily I got a very superior manglee, and although I was now and then in situations of some danger I never met with any serious accident. The first time I started in her was from Chaund Paul Ghaut, a very public landing-place in Calcutta, where a large crowd assembled to look at my new vessel, and a pretty as well as novel sight it undoubtedly was, her crew being dressed in uniform—white linen jackets and trousers, with bright red and green turbans, cumberbands (a large roll round the bottom of their bodies) of the same. My people were the first that had appeared thus neatly equipped, for the

splendour and magnificence of Lord Wellesley was then unknown.

Just at the time my boat was launched Mr. Gillett had finished one for Lord Cornwallis of a mixed kind, between Hindostannee and European, but much larger than mine, being rowed by twenty-six men. His Lordship built her to convey him to his country residence at Barrackpore. Mr. Gillett told me he had no doubt but she would keep way with, if not beat, any boat; in which opinion he proved greatly mistaken, for upon trial, I found I could go two lengths to her one. This boat proved an enormous expence to me; her original cost was two thousand sicca rupees, the monthly charge of her crew sixty-five more, besides occasional repairs and a constant demand for some article or other she was reported to be in want of.

On the 14th of August (1791) I was sitting very disconsolate in my own room from being threatened with one of the spasmodic attacks, when I was most agreeably surprized at receiving a note from Sir William Dunkin, announcing his safe arrival at Diamond Harbour, on board the ship *Phoenix*, adding that he hoped to be with me the following day. Forgetting all the disagreeable symptoms that had alarmed me, I ordered a pinnace to be made ready with the utmost possible dispatch, that I might at high water go down to Diamond Harbour to meet my friend. I had not given these orders more than half an hour when I observed a pilot schooner running up from Garden House Reach at an immense rate. She appeared crowded with people and had a Union Jack flying at her main-top-gallant masthead. By the assistance of my spying-glass, I ascertained that there were several ladies on board, and I thought I distinguished Sir William Dunkin's figure amongst a number of gentlemen standing upon the deck. I thereupon went down to the water-side, stepped into a little paunceway, went off to the schooner, and in little more than half an hour had Sir William by the hand. He directly introduced me to a daughter of his, Miss Rachael Dunkin, and to a son, but I was so agitated and ill at the time, I could scarcely stand

and knew not whom he named to me. Captain Grey, who commanded the *Phoenix* and was also on board the schooner, observing that I seemed as if about to faint, led me into the cabin, where he made me sit down, and his surgeon administering a large dose of ether, afforded me material relief. In a few minutes I recovered sufficiently to be able to congratulate Sir William on his arrival, and to accompany him with his son and daughter on shore. The two former went to my house, where I had apartments made ready for them, Miss Dunkin going to Mrs. Hay's, who had engaged to receive her until her father should settle his place of residence.

Miss Dunkin delivered to me several letters from my family, she likewise brought me a large-sized miniature (if such a phrase be admissible) picture of my favourite sister Ann, but which struck me as looking so old and altogether unfavourable a likeness that I could not help expressing my surprise and disappointment at it. Sir William gave me very satisfactory accounts of my dearest father, whom he had recently left in excellent health. After many kind expressions, he added, "And now, my dear William, let me congratulate you upon being a judge's clerk, which from this moment you are, and be assured I shall over be ready to render it as advantageous to you as possible, and by every means in my power to promote your welfare."

Sir William told me that another of his daughters (Letitia), with her husband, Mr. Francis Macnaghten, and two infant children might be hourly expected to arrive, having left England at the same time he did, being on board the *Lord Camden*, Captain Dance.

The sincere pleasure I felt at thus meeting a warm and true friend, enabled me to bear up through the day, notwithstanding I was in severe pain, but in the middle of the succeeding night I was so violently attacked that I was obliged to send for Doctor Hare, who had recourse to the usual remedy, laudanum. The following morning he (the doctor) renewed his visit, when finding me very ill he expressed his concern thereat, declaring at the same time that he knew not what to do for me, having already tried all the

supposed antispasmodic and nervous medicines, and he was sorry to find with little success. After musing some minutes, he said, "Everything I have hitherto done having failed, I wish I could prevail upon you to submit to try what effect an Issue would have." Surprized at hearing this, I replied, "My dear Doctor, you surely forget that upwards of a year ago, I mentioned that very thing to you myself, having been recommended so to do by Mr. George Williamson, who gave it as his decided opinion that from the nature of my complaints he was convinced I should benefit from it, when you laughed at the old gentleman's whimsical idea, observing, 'An Issue could be of no use, and would entail upon me a most disagreeable operation, that of daily dressing it, an unpleasant thing in any country, but more peculiarly so in a hot climate.'" "Well," rejoined the Doctor, "if such were my sentiments at the period you allude to, they are now altered. I think it probable an Issue would be of important use, and at any rate it is worth a trial: should it not succeed we can soon get rid of it." In an hour after this conversation I had an Issue out in my left arm, and have kept it open ever since, with infinite advantage.

By the *Phoenix* I had the pleasure to receive the following friendly letter from Mr. Stackhouse Tolfrey:

"Exeter. 7th April, 1791.

MY DEAR HICKEY, I should not have left to your sister and Mrs. Burke to inform you of my having executed your commissions had the account I must have given you of myself been such as would have afforded you any satisfaction. I was so wretchedly reduced by long illness and my lungs were so weak at the time of my arrival in London, I experienced so much difficulty of breathing in that smoky and thick atmosphere, as to render my continuance there impossible. On consulting Dr. Warren, he recommended me immediately to go into a purer air, notwithstanding which I struggled against the disorder and his advice four or five days. Amongst the wishes that most powerfully

combated against my leaving town was the earnest desire I had of becoming acquainted with your sister and family. During the short time I was in London, and in spite of severe illness, I called twice at your father's, but was not fortunate enough either time to find any of his family at home, which afterwards became the cause of still greater regret when I learnt how much I was indebted to them for many kind inquiries as well as numerous civilities shewn to my brother Peter, to whom, on my being obliged suddenly to leave London, I transferred the charge of attending to the executing those commissions I had from you. I have never since ventured to town but once, when business compelled me upon the death of Mr. Messink, and then a sudden and violent attack of the asthma forced me to leave it after a stay of only two days, and I could not enjoy the gratification of visiting any friends, or those I was so desirous of making my friends. I am now, thank God, much better, though I fear many years must elapse before I shall be equal to a residence in the Metropolis, even for a single winter, and though I am not very violently attached to its amusements, yet I must confess that I regret not having it in my option to see them all at least once round. I ought, however, to be very well satisfied with having one of the most delightful retirements in Devonshire, which I have taken upon a long lease, and at which I sincerely hope I shall one day or other have the happiness of welcoming you; the period of your return to England cannot, I trust, be far distant. I heard with great satisfaction that Turner, upon Wroughton's leaving India, had entered into your office, and pleased myself with the idea that all Wroughton's rich clients would upon that occasion become yours. If your success be at all equal to my wishes, we must soon meet again, and I do assure you that there are few occurrences that will yield me so much real delight as to be once more under the same roof with the friend to whose kindness I shall never forget the beginning of my fortune was owing.

"I was very much surprised to see Sir William Dunkin's appointment to the vacant seat on your Bench. I have

been told that he owes it to the interest of Lord Cornwallis, but I should rather conjecture it ought to be attributed to Lord Macartney. At the distance I am situated from town, and the little intercourse I have with the great world, I can seldom obtain information on public matters, and it was not my good fortune to meet with Sir William Dunkin during his short stay in England, though I sought an interview on first hearing of his arrival at Plymouth, from which at that time my dwelling was only seven miles distant. He had left the inn only one hour before I reached it. How does Davies brook the idea of addressing him as a Judge. But probably he will not have remained long enough to see him take his seat on the Bench ; if he did he must, I think, feel awkward at the great change in their relative situations.

" I hear I am precluded from the power of returning if disposed so to do, from a new regulation introduced by the judges. Is it so ? I know that you have a greater relish for the pleasures of England than I ever could under any circumstances. I cannot say that I have hitherto realized the enjoyments I had anticipated. This perhaps is owing to the errors of a too sanguine expectation. I must confess I very frequently look back to India with regret, and wonder at my former insensibility to its many superior advantages. I believe it often happens that in our estimate of happiness we are too apt to think less of the present and more, too much more, of the past and future ; however, when I consider the lot of many in India who have deserved so much better than myself, I find ample reason to be content with my situation, and by such reflections my gratitude to you is ever awakened as the source of all the good and all the happiness I enjoy. Conscious as I am that your generous mind requires not any such acknowledgments, yet a feeling heart cannot avoid the tribute of them. May you, my dear Hickey, be ever happy, and retain for me the same friendship and kindness as you have upon all occasions evinced towards me by your conduct. Mrs. Tolfrey desires to be most kindly remembered to you, and pray make mine to Turner, to whom I intend to write by this conveyance if

time permits, for I am very anxious to receive from him some account of my concerns, respecting which at present I am wholly in the dark. I had formed higher hopes from his having the management of them than I fear ever will be realized.

"I am sure I need not add anything to what I requested in favour of Mr. Barnes, of the *Asia*, as I am persuaded you will for my sake shew him every attention in your power, but I interest myself so much about him that while writing to you I cannot help repeating how much your kindness to him will oblige me. I hope you will write to me by the return of the ships of this season. You must have a thousand circumstances to inform me of that I am greatly interested in knowing, and in good truth there is nothing relative to yourself that I can be indifferent to. God for ever bless you, my greatly esteemed friend. Believe me your obliged, and most gratefully affectionate, STACKHOUSE TOLFREY."

My poor friend did not long survive the writing of the above letter. He suddenly fell into a rapid decline which terminated his life, and I lamented subsequently to hear that previous to his death he had spent the greater part of his fortune, leaving his wife with three children very slenderly provided for, nothing remaining but the amount settled upon her at the time of her marriage, amounting to about four thousand pounds. He, unhappily, like many other persons from India, set out in a style far beyond his means and had not fortitude enough to retrench in time. His widow became so reduced as to be obliged to keep a school, and that in a neighbourhood where she had lived in the utmost splendour.

Sir William Dunkin and his son Edward continued my guests three weeks, during which time every member of the Court called to pay their compliments, one of the earliest visitors being Mr. Davies, the Advocate-General, who very wisely determined to forget all former jealousies and animosity. Sir William then took possession of an excellent house he had hired, which he soon after purchased; it was

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situate in the rear of the theatre, in an open, airy situation. The very day that he entered it his daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Macnaghten, with their children, arrived from England in the ship *Camden*, commanded by Captain (now Sir Nathaniel) Dance.

In the same month of August I had the further gratification to receive the following letter from my highly esteemed friend, Mr. Cano.

“Tours. February 4th, 1791.

“MY DEAR WILL. Your letter was ten times more welcome to me than the remittance will be when it comes ; there are twenty ways by which an hundred pounds may be had, but the recovery of an old friend was only to be brought about as you have managed it ; I heartily ask your pardon for any unkind expression I may have used to you in my former letters ; believe me it was ‘ my poverty and not my will ’ that pushed me to use them, and yet I have still good cause of quarrel with you. During your stay in London, why not write to me thus : ‘ My old friend, I am returned from India as poor as I went. I purpose going out again, and if I make money we will settle. If I don’t, I am sure you will regret more the cause than the effect, as my death only will prevent payment.’ Had you done so, no report, however authenticated, would have made me remind you that we had an account to settle. Again—when you were obliged to quit London, as I was, *suddenly*, why not cross to Calais or Dieppe, and come to me at Tours. We would have found means of getting you out in a French East Indiaman instead of the Portuguese. I am much connected with several great merchants at L’Orient, and possibly part of your hardship might have been avoided. But we will speak no more about what might have been.

“Since Fortune turned her back on me, there is nothing has affected me so sensibly as the behaviour of the Burke family. Perhaps I told you before—no matter, I will tell you now. When William Burke pushed to get out to India,

which was, I believe, a month or two after you sailed, he could get but two out of the five votes of the secret Committee; of the three hostile ones two were so decidedly Lord North's creatures that it was in vain to attempt them; Mr. Pigou was the third. You know his long and steady attachment to me. I worried him in favour of William, Mrs. Pigou at my solicitation seconded me, saying that some time or other there would be a change and the Burke would prove grateful. Mr. Pigou, to get rid of such troublesome and importunate suitors, told me if I would give up the matter I should have his nomination of a writer, observing that it would be making the fortune of any relation, or if I had no relation I wished to provide for, he had heard that people gave from fifteen hundred to two thousand pounds for such a nomination; notwithstanding this, I persisted and finally obtained the appointment sought for by William Burke. Edmund, Richard and William thereupon came to me in Berners Street, called me their patron, declaring they never would accept of any place until I should be secured in whatever employment I chose to fix upon for myself, etc. etc. But mark the end; when they and their party did come into power (and they were twice in office) I asked merely for a commission for my son in one of the new-raised regiments; that would have given him half pay for six years, at the end of which time he would have come upon full pay as the oldest ensign, consequently first to purchase a lieutenancy. I asked this in *six* different letters, three of which were sent by the general post and three by private hands. By God in heaven! they not only did not do it (and they could if they pleased have given him a company, so much influence had they both times), but they never honoured me with one line in answer. This, with my never having heard a word or received a shilling from Popham, whose debt to me now amounts to upwards of seven thousand pounds, soured my temper, and made me, perhaps, treat you with unbecoming asperity. But I have already asked your pardon for it, and though it is no excuse, yet surely the treatment I have met with may be admitted

as some mitigation. Had William Burke been in England, I am persuaded I should have been remembered. *But the other two are Papists, therefore not to be depended on.* I was offered a large sum of money by one of Hastings's friends to make an affidavit of the above facts for the purpose of publication. But I always did and still do love Will Burke, and therefore would not do anything to cast the slightest odium upon him or his connections.

"My son is in Ireland. He was appointed to the lucrative situation of *an ensign*, in the month of October, 1789, in the Fifth Regiment of Foot, then upon duty in the wilds of Canada, six hundred miles above Quebec. Upon his being ordered to join in March last, I borrowed one hundred pounds and got him exchanged into the 22nd Regiment, now on Dublin duty. He had been in Ireland since March, 1789, so he came to pass the summer with us, but had not been six weeks here when the prospect of war with Spain called him away. He went by the way of Dieppe, there he met with two English whores, who had been upon an excursion to Paris; these damsels the young man escorted (that word, I am convinced, is derived from *scortum*) to London, and was there obliged to borrow twenty-five pounds to pay his way on to Dublin. There is a French proverb: 'Chasser de race'—n'est-il pas vrai?

"I am possessed at present of—the gout—gravel—and my liver is undoubtedly touched; yet my heart is as light as ever, and the sense of my family being bettered by my death makes that *no king of terrors* to me. Moreover, I have read and meditated much since I have been in France, and I am convinced that the dead are 'as they who have never existed.' My poor wife will miss me when I go, her nerves are in a wretched state, yet she is so good and so attached to me, so mild and contented under the great change of circumstances we have experienced, that I bear patiently a thousand little inconveniences which her peculiarities make me suffer. I heartily condole with you on the irreparable misfortune you had in losing the amiable person you mention. Your feelings must have been the same in whatever situa-

tion she was, for your letter does not say whether she was friend or wife.

"Pursuant to your permission, I have drawn two bills, one at three, the other at six months' sight; also a third at twelve months for whatever balance may be then due; I have left a blank for the sum, which you will fill up. Be persuaded that whatever you make it, I shall be perfectly contented with; I have done this that when I write to you next year (and I shall continue to write at least annually as long as I live) there may be no more of business in my letters. If you have any repugnance to accepting the last-mentioned bill, use your good pleasure, you have acted so honourably by me, that I most willingly leave to your own discretion the final settlement, assuring you that my heart is as warmly attached as ever towards you, and that nothing but dire necessity and the want of means prevents my shewing it in the same manner as formerly.

"Should you return to Europe in a French ship, write from L'Orient to Tours, and if I be alive (for I am here for life) you must come across the country and see a faithful and affectionate friend in Will. Cane. My wife sends her best wishes to you."

CHAPTER IV

1791

CHARLES JOHNSTON AND THE DUNKINS. THE
DEPOSITION OF THE GOVERNOR OF CHANDER-
NAGORE. A NARROW ESCAPE FROM RUIN

A **BENGAL** writer who had been in my office about five years, requested permission to leave me, he having an offer made him by a gentleman in the Company's Civil Service who resided at a place called Nattore, of nearly double the salary I allowed. Of course I could not with any show of justice refuse to let him better his fortune, though I certainly was very sorry to part with him, he being an admirable clerk. In little more than a twelvemonth after he left me I was much surprized at receiving the following curious specimen of his *poetical* talents, in which he gives a most unfavourable account of his now place of residence.

I have sat down with great regret to begin Nattore treatise,
The reader must be arrested in concern and surprize !
Natural quality of Spring is in a far distance,
Never freshes our temper southern breeze and flowers' fragrance
Or repetition of parrots, nightingales, and warbling magpies,
Here we meet agony by screeching of owls and pariah dogs' cries !
Summer treats us very hard in its turn,
Scarcely can find air to exhale until Sun dives in West Cavern
When tempests not only arises to destroy every straw cottage,
Also occasions great conflagration to consume them with rage ;
The daylight makes everyone's face distorted,
And the eyes being ready to start from the head !
All habitations are sunk down in water' by Autumn.
Terrible noise of thunders, clouds with rain drops that fall down
Neither sun nor moon with all her starry train be perceived.
The day or night being consequently undistinguished.

Winter generally occupies a greater part of the year,
 The whole Spring is considered a part of it here !
 No full moon can make her brightness half so visible
 As an Assembly Room illuminated with wax candle !
 We are indeed at the borders of habitable sphere,
 Among wild people and savages, under polar star.

RAMRUTTON CHUCKERBUTTY.

In October my sister Ann sent me out Mr. Burke's celebrated publication upon the French Revolution, a work that displayed the unbounded extent of his genius. From his well-known attack in Parliament upon the conduct of Mr. Hastings while Governor-General of India, he had rendered himself extremely unpopular with the numerous partizans of that gentleman ; notwithstanding which his work was received and read with universal admiration and approbation throughout the British Settlement in India. So great was the demand for it that it was reprinted in Calcutta, running through two editions in a very few days. This popular pamphlet was introduced to the public with the following exordium by the Bengal publisher : " In naming Edmund Burke for its author, what is there in all the wide region of science and philosophy ; what in the extensive page of history, or the large volume of nature herself, pertaining to so elaborate a subject that has not been displayed by his erudition, expanded by his penetration and completely illustrated by the sublime touches of his exalted genius ? " Undoubtedly it was a most extraordinary performance, and subsequent calamitous events have too truly proved how prophetic he was.

Sir William Dunkin informed me that his salary commenced the day he went on board ship at Portsmouth. He therefore conceived that I, as his clerk, was entitled to receive mine from the same period. Upon this foundation I sent in to Government a demand of fourteen hundred sicca rupees as arrears of salary due to me. In consequence whereof my friend, Mr. Edward Hay, then Chief Secretary, called upon me to say that the President in Council (the Governor-General then being absent) did not think any

judge's clerk could be entitled to claim salary until the judge had taken his seat upon the Bench and entered upon the duties of his office. "However (observed Mr. Hay), I prevailed upon him and the Council to pass your bill conditionally, taking your bond to refund the amount should the Court of Directors disapprove the payment. I accordingly touched the cash, but fourteen months afterwards was obliged to return the same, the Leadenhall Street gentlemen having in the general letter expressed their surprize and indignation at the Government's ever having sanctioned so unauthorized a claim, which they therefore insisted should be immediately repaid with interest.

About this time we began to feel great alarms for the safety of the *Foulis* Indiaman, commanded by Captain Blachford, which ship sailed from Bengal, bound to Bencoolen, many months before, crowded with troops and passengers: the apprehensions respecting her proved too well founded; she never was heard of, nor did the least trace of her ever appear. It was conjectured she must have perished at sea, in all probability by fire.

I spent much of my time at Sir William Dunkin's, indeed they all warmly solicited me to give up housekeeping altogether and take all my meals with them, but this my pride would not allow of my accepting, though if ever there was a family in which a man circumstanced as I was could have felt happy and independent, even while living in it as a guest, it was Sir William Dunkin's; indeed not only himself but the ladies warmly solicited me to reside entirely there. His eldest daughter, Mrs. Macnaghten, was gentleness personified, and altogether one of the most delightful women I ever knew. Her husband was a fine, high-spirited, honourable young man: by nature of a violent temper, but he possessed sufficient resolution not only to curb but in a great measure correct the infirmity, rarely allowing any person, unless such intimates as myself, to see him impetuous or irascible. The second daughter, Miss Rachael Dunkin, was equal in sweetness of temper to her sister, Mrs. Macnaghten. Probably I had a little bias towards Miss Dunkin

on account of her intimacy with and the great love she had for my sister Ann, with whom Mrs. Macnaghten was wholly unacquainted, from having resided all her life in Ireland, in which country she married. Miss Dunkin was constantly talking to me about this favourite sister of mine, whom she said her father had done all in his power to prevail on to accompany them to the East. Edward Dunkin was a mild and affectionate lad about the age of seventeen who early became much attached to me. He was in a very infirm state of health, being subject to dreadful epileptic fits. The physicians had recommended trying the effect of a hot climate, which had induced his father to get him appointed a cadet and take him out to India. The experiment, unfortunately, did not answer; on the contrary, the fits attacked him more frequently and impaired his intellect, so that in the course of a twelvemonth he was reduced almost to idiotism, in which melancholy state he returned to Europe where he lingered a few years and then died.

Never was there a family that lived together in more complete harmony than that of Sir William Dunkin's. If he himself had a fault it was that of being too fond of the pleasures of the table, which was to be accounted for from early habit and having resided the greater part of his life in the country part of Ireland, in the society of men who were all hard drinkers, as was the general practice in those days in the sister kingdom, but now much left off amongst the higher classes. This disposition of conviviality in the Judge cost me many a headache from a proneness I had to follow his example in drinking too much.

A cynical, disagreeable man, by name Charles Johnston, who had been a contemporary student with Sir William when at the Temple, was among the earliest to visit him upon his commencing housekeeping in Calcutta, as one of His Majesty's judges. This person was the reputed author of the famous novel called “Chrysal, or the Adventures of a Guinea,” from which circumstance, as well as to distinguish him from two or three others of the same name, he was usually called “Chrysal Johnston.” For my own

part I never could consider him competent to the execution of a work of so much ingenuity. His language, in common parlance, was invariably poor, low, and inelegant, nor did he appear to me to possess any talents or genius whatsoever. He had been called to the Bar either in England or Ireland, but never made any figure as a lawyer, and having run through a small patrimonial estate which he inherited, he late in life embarked for Bengal with a view to try what he could do at the profession in that part of the world. In the East, however, he made no more progress than he had done at home, really and truly not having sufficient capacity to state the most plain and common of all cases, that is, Debt upon Bond. Yet with all this ignorance he was the very quintessence of vanity. Arrogant! supercilious! and presumptuous to the greatest degree, wherever he imagined he might so conduct himself without risk of chastisement. He was notorious for never speaking well of any human creature. If there was an ill-natured anecdote attached to a family of whom he had the slightest knowledge, he would, when in company, be sure to introduce it, whether applicable to the subject of conversation or not, especially if in the presence of anyone whom he knew or conceived to be a relation, friend, or well-wisher to the party libelled and traduced.

This brute, upon his first arrival in Bengal, frequently came, unasked, to my house; but as he could not help at all times shewing his malignant disposition, and even related to me some ridiculous anecdotes of my father which, notwithstanding he asserted he was himself witness to, I greatly doubted the truth of, and fairly told him I did not credit, I soon gave my servants orders never to admit him, and if at all pressed for admission not to scruple telling him I did not choose to see him either then or at any other time. Upon writing to my father, I mentioned the stories this man had told, to which he answered thus: "There is not one word of truth in them, the whole is the invention of his own brain; but you never must feel surprized at any of Charles Johnston's marvellous stories. From early youth

he was remarkable for ‘the long bow,’ and when at the Temple was known by no other title than *Lying Charley*.”

Sir William Dunkin, with his usual hospitality and kindness, invited this Charles Johnston to dinner to meet a large party of the principal gentlemen of the Settlement. During dinner Johnston related a number of satirical and ill-natured stories of Sir William’s old friends both in England and Ireland. He, however, seemed to attach himself in a particular manner to Mr. Macnaghten, near whom he happened to be placed and to whom he pretty plainly insinuated that his (Johnston’s) proper station ought to have been upon Sir William’s right hand. After drinking for an hour, he had occasion to withdraw for a short time, when Sir William, who like the rest of the company was disgusted by his misanthropy, observed to his son-in-law, Mr. Macnaghten, “My dear Frank. Notwithstanding that old slanderer has affected to pay you so much attention, I know him so well that I have no doubt before he finally quits this room to-night, he will take an opportunity of reminding you, directly or indirectly, of your unfortunate Uncle John” (alluding to John Macnaghten, Esquire, who somewhere about the year 1760 was executed in Ireland for shooting Miss Knox).

Mr. James Dunkin, quite shocked at such an idea, with extreme eagerness, though in the gentleness and benignity of his own heart exclaimed, “Fie-fie, Sir William! How can you be so unjust and so ungenerous! Satirical and prone to scandal as the man indisputably is, yet it is utterly impossible he can be so inconsiderate and so unguarded, for he is not, I believe, ignorant of Frank’s near relationship to John Macnaghten.” Sir William instantly replied, “I nevertheless think, James, that I am right from my long acquaintance with this fellow’s vile propensity to ill-nature, and if you please I will back my opinion with a wager.”

Just at that moment Johnston returned, and had scarcely resumed his seat at the table, when turning to Mr. Macnaghten, he in a loud tone addressed him, saying, “Pray, my good young gentleman, may I be permitted to ask

whether you are in any manner related to a very worthy and respected friend of mine, John Macnaghten, who unhappily suffered many years since in Ireland for murdering a girl with whom he was in love ? ”

A general and loud burst of indignation took place at the moment this indelicate question was thus abruptly put. Mr. James Dunkin in particular seemed thunderstruck, and clapping his hands violently together he screeched out, “ Oh, Jesus ! I could not have believed this possible ! ”

Mr. Macnaghten, as soon as the noise ceased so that he could be heard, with the utmost coolness, though attended by a marked contempt in his manner, and looking Johnston steadfastly in the face, answered his interrogatory thus, “ Yes, Mr. Johnston, I am, as you very well knew, when you put the question, nephew to that unfortunate John Macnaghten.”

This proved too much even for the impudent apathy of Lying Charley to bear ; he appeared confounded, stammered out an awkward sort of apology, rose from table, slunk out of the room, and never afterwards entered Sir William’s doors, so that the ill-judged malevolence of this disagreeable man for ever ridded Sir William Dunkin and family of his presence.

The Judge’s clerkship proved very advantageous to me, for, besides the salary, I had a fee upon every process issued under Sir William’s order, as well as upon every signature of his to any document whatsoever. I never received less than five hundred rupees a month, frequently eight hundred, and upon an average the emoluments annually were eleven hundred pounds sterling.

Miss Dunkin constantly attacked me on the subject of my sister Ann’s picture, which she brought out from England for me, declaring I was unworthy of possessing it as I did not seem to feel its value ; on the contrary, greatly underrated its merit. Finding that she really considered it to be a correct representation of her friend, whereas I could not trace the slightest resemblance to my sister Ann, I determined to present it to her, and accordingly put it into the

hands of a jeweller for the purpose of having it encircled with handsome brilliants. When finished, I begged her acceptance of it. She had great scruples in complying with my request from the expensive manner in which it was decorated. I, however, at last prevailed, and when dressed she always wore it.

Some of my letters from Europe informing me that my elder brother confidently talked of coming out to India with an intention to join me in the practice of an Attorney, I immediately wrote to discourage him from taking such a step, using every argument in my power to prevent it; in short, what I said amounted to an absolute prohibition. My writing thus strongly arose entirely from my feeling how grievously he would be disappointed if he came out. I was concerned afterwards to hear that he did not receive my advice kindly, or in the manner I expected and hoped he would have done, for certainly my opinion was given most disinterestedly and intended solely for his advantage.

To the happiness I derived from the society of the amiable family of Dunkins, I had a considerable drawback in the death of my esteemed friend, Mr. Francis Rundell. This worthy young man died at the age of thirty-two, universally lamented by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, and more particularly so by those who, like me, were intimate with him and knew all his merits.

In the death of this gentleman, the Calcutta stage suffered not only a serious but an irreparable loss, and as the Irish Bishop once said "*Single misfortunes never come alone, but the greatest is always attended by a greater,*" his death was followed by the sudden departure of a Mr. Pollard, a man of considerable talents not only in the line of acting, but as a painter of scenes, etc., and composer of music. This young gentleman had filled a situation of responsibility in a bank that had been established in Calcutta, under the title of "The General Bank of India," for executing the duties of which he received a handsome salary. But living, as was too frequently the case with young men in the East, beyond his income, he so forgot what was due to his own

character as to be guilty of a breach of trust, embezzling a large sum of money belonging to his employers, and as the time approached when he was aware, from an inspection of the bank accounts, his crime must be discovered, he suddenly resolved to abscond, and getting on board an American vessel upon the eve of departure for Philadelphia, sailed in her for that distant quarter, where after a very few months' residence, he was carried off by a violent fever.

The French revolutionary mania extended its baneful influence even to the banks of the Ganges. A set of vagabond scoundrels, consisting principally of cooks, hair-dressers, and fellows who had been menial servants, headed and encouraged by a man of extraordinary talents whose name was Richemont, who filled the elevated situation of Chief Judge in the Court at Chandernagore, took it into their heads to suppose that the Chevalier de Montigny, who was Governor of the Settlement, from his near alliance to one of the first families of France, must consequently be unfit to preside over a respectable body of *sans culotte* Republicans. They therefore seized and deposed him, and but for the speedy interference of the English would in all probability have put him to death. A party of British soldiers, however, rescued him, and he was safely conducted to Calcutta. The desperate villains, upon the chief being thus carried off, usurped the Government, voting each other into the different public posts and offices, and taking possession of the treasury.

A few months afterwards a French sloop of war, commanded by Captain Magon, thentofore a young officer in the Royal Navy, arrived at Chandernagore, having on board two gentlemen who had been appointed Commissioners by the Supreme Board at the Isle of Mauritias to arrange all matters at the subordinate stations. This Captain Magon has since cut a figure, upon paper at least, as one of the Corsican usurper's admirals. A few days after the arrival of these gentlemen in Bengal, I had the inexpressible satisfaction to receive a letter announcing to me that one of the Commissioners was Monsieur Gautier, from whom myself and my dearest Charlotte had received such uncommon

civility and marks of kindness during our detention at Trincomalay. In this letter my truly esteemed friend informed me that although his heart and his principles remained loyal as ever and that he felt as much attached as any person in existence to his lawful sovereign and family, he had been compelled to yield so far to the violence of the times as to accept a situation of responsibility under the new regime ; that he bore the rank of Colonel in the revolutionary army, but ardently hoped he should not long continue under the necessity of bearing the badges of hypocrisy, and that he should shortly be able to congratulate his reasonable countrymen upon the recovery of their senses and their real liberties by the restoration of the family of their basely murdered and legitimate sovereign. In the same letter he expressed his concern that he could not visit me in Calcutta, as the British Government having refused to receive or recognize the powers of himself and his colleague upon their present mission rendered it improper for either of them to enter the English Presidency. In consequence of this communication, I immediately ordered my carriage and set off for Chandernagore, where in three hours afterwards I had the happiness to embrace one of the best of human creatures, the man for whom I entertained the most perfect respect and regard. After a long and interesting conversation relative to past times, I prevailed upon him to accompany me to my house at Chinsurah, being only three miles distant, and had there an opportunity, which I gladly availed myself of, to shew my sense of his disinterested friendship to me whilst at Trincomalay by entertaining him with true English hospitality.

At the expiration of six weeks, these Commissioners seeing no probability of effecting the object of their mission, from the violence and obstinate pertinacity of the *citoyens* of Chandernagore, who would neither listen to reason nor to any of the liberal terms proposed to them, they determined upon returning to the Mauritias. Colonel Gautier thereupon considered that his public functions being at an end no objection could then arise to his sojourning at the

British Presidency. He therefore sent a letter to me, saying he would have the gratification of becoming my guest at Calcutta for a few days. There I had the happiness of receiving and paying further attentions to my inestimable friend, attentions he seemed fully sensible of and grateful for. This amiable man, I grieve to say, a twelvemonth after he left my house departed this life at Tranquebar, the chief Danish settlement upon the coast of Coromandel, being carried off by a fever.

In the autumn of this year 1791, Sir William Dunkin hired Mr. William Burke's Garden house, where his family resided entirely, Sir William going to town every morning except Sunday, to transact the business of the Court, and returning in the afternoon to dinner. I usually dined there three days in every week, and might, had I chosen it, have slept there, an apartment being allotted to my particular use.

In December my friend, Mr. Michael George Prendergast, married Miss Jemima Smith, second daughter of my *Nassau* shipmates, Mr. and Mrs. Smith, a short time previous to which he had been fortunate enough to gain half of the highest prize in the Calcutta lottery, his share amounting to upwards of five thousand guineas.

A circumstance now occurred that for some time threatened my utter ruin, and occasioned me much trouble and uneasiness. Mr. Arthur Mair, whom I have already mentioned as being a great promoter of the establishment of the Bucks Society and who accepted the office of Secretary thereto, was of a very enterprising and speculative turn. We had likewise another gentleman equally disposed to all sorts of wild mercantile schemes; this was Mr. Thomas Cotton, who had been an eminent corn factor in England, but failing in business a Commission of Bankruptcy issued against him. Having some vindictive and hostile creditors he could not obtain his certificate; he therefore embarked for the East Indies in order to try whether fortune would prove kinder to him in that quarter. Being a Suffolk man, he and all his family, which was very respectable, were well

known to Lord Cornwallis, who in consequence patronised and supported him in Bengal. He had also brought with him from England letters of strong recommendation to several persons of the highest rank in India, which coming from men of consequence were duly attended to. Being an adept in arithmetic as well as book-keeping, he soon after his arrival was appointed cashier and principal accountant to the General Bank, then recently established, with a very handsome monthly allowance, besides having the use of a noble house to reside in. Mr. Mair being equally well introduced, both these gentlemen had the means of commanding any sums of money they chose to apply for. From a similarity in their views and dispositions, they agreed to become partners and carry on business jointly as merchants. From their joint influence with the members of the commercial part of the Government they obtained three or four different contracts, each of which was supposed to be so advantageous that they must speedily acquire immense fortunes.

In those days it was customary for all contractors to enter into a bond to the Company for the due performance of the covenants on their parts, two securities also joining in such bond, the penalty being in proportion to the amount of the contract. This matter of security had long been considered as mere form, no one ever having been known to be attacked, although many contractors had failed to execute the terms of their contracts. Messieurs Mair and Cotton applied to me to become one of their securities, and as I was living on terms of the utmost familiarity and intimacy with them both, and besides got a great deal of money by acting as their Attorney at Law, I without the least hesitation or scruple complied with their desire, and accordingly executed bonds to the amount of upwards of five lacs of sicca rupees.

These two enterprising gentlemen, among various other plans, had purchased three large ships, which they freighted with goods themselves and stood their own insurers. These vessels they sent off to the Malay coast and China. They also formed what is termed a sleeping partnership with the

keeper of a Europe shop, and through the medium of the person they thus connected themselves with purchased entire investments of several officers and commanders of East Indiamen. After carrying on their multifarious concerns during three years, their affairs became embarrassed, principally arising from having too many irons in the fire and from employing unworthy and dishonest agents in their foreign transactions. Their distresses were also increased by the total loss of one of their three ships, which foundered in a dreadful tuffoon that overtook her in the China seas, when all on board perished, she with her cargo being valued at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Their credit thus became affected, and I was made uneasy by several natives telling me their bills were selling in the Bazaar for 20 per cent below the nominal value ; a few days after hearing which an intimate friend of mine called upon me to say in confidence they were completely ruined and were expected every hour to abscond for protection to a foreign settlement.

I therefore thought it high time to endeavour to secure myself as well as I could, for which purpose I went to my professional friend, Mr. John Shaw, to consult with him, when he advised me forthwith to file a Bill in Equity and procure a writ of *ne exeat regno*, to prevent the parties leaving the jurisdiction. With an ardour and kindness peculiar to him when he felt interested for anyone, he instantly sat down to his desk, which he never quitted until he had finished the draft of a Bill, which he delivered to me, saying : " Now away with you home and instead of going to bed engross it ; after so doing put the strong points of it into the form of an affidavit, have the same ready to swear in the morning and issue your writ, otherwise from what I have learnt through an authentic channel you will be too late, and the intended defendants be out of your reach before noon."

Wherever a matter pressed with respect to time no man could be more zealous or work harder than myself, and as on this occasion the case was my own, no additional spur was necessary. Before ten o'clock in the morning I had the

Bill upon the file, and swearing to the affidavit before Sir William Dunkin obtained his order for the writ of *ne exeat*. By eleven it was executed and Messieurs Cotton and Mair both in custody. Mr. Smoult, an Attorney of the Court, was Under Sheriff at the time and had the whole responsibility of the Sheriff upon him ; he was consequently a good deal alarmed from the uncommon magnitude of the sum, and much care was taken to prevent an escape. The defendants gave the names of two gentlemen who were willing to become bail for them, but Mr. Smoult not deeming their security sufficient refused to accept them. A third person then offered to join the other two ; this was Captain Cuthbert Fenwick, when the Under-Sheriff, considering himself sufficiently covered, immediately released his prisoners, two hours after doing which Messrs. Cotton and Mair, accompanied by two of the three securities, absconded, taking refuge under a foreign flag. I thereupon immediately put the bail bond in force, took out a writ of *capias* upon it, under which Fenwick, who alone stood his ground was arrested, and went to gaol, not choosing to ask any of his friends to bail him for so heavy a sum.

This Captain Fenwick was an extraordinary character. He was supposed to have acquired a large fortune by having for many years commanded the *Success* galley, a ship belonging to the Nabob of Arcot, who kept it principally to transport pious Indians to Mecca, there to offer up their prayers to their Divinity. She made the voyage annually, of course affording her commander and officers opportunities of carrying on a very advantageous traffic for themselves. Fenwick was a man of strong natural genius, nor was he by any means deficient in the usual acquirements of a gentleman, but his temper was so abominable, he was so irascible and so capricious, he could not retain a friend, and was perpetually involved in difficulties and disputes with some person or other.

Extremely indignant at being deprived of his liberty, as above stated, Fenwick addressed several very scurrilous letters to me, seeming to consider me in the highest degree

illiberal and unjust for permitting him to lay a close prisoner in the common gaol, and that too for debt with which he had nothing at all to do, nor had he directly or indirectly ever derived the smallest benefit from the transaction. His scurrility I treated with the contempt it deserved : to his observation relative to the hardship of his being confined for the debt of another person, I replied that he had quite as much to do with the bond upon which he had been arrested, which bore his signature and seal, and was joint and several upon each obligor, as I had with that I had unfortunately executed to the Company, for which amount I expected every hour to be attacked, having already received a letter of demand from the Company's Attorney, requiring immediate payment of the same.

After attempting in vain to bully me Fenwick became somewhat less violent, and made an offer to put himself in my place as guarantee for Messieurs Cotton and Mair to the Company, and to bind himself to fulfil the conditions of the several contracts should the Company desire or require it. This proposal I instantly communicated to Mr. Shaw, who recommended me to apply to the Advocate-General on the subject, to whom he likewise would speak on my behalf, and would use his best endeavours to prevail on him to advise the Governor-General in Council to accede to the offer made by admitting of the substitution of Cuthbert Fenwick for William Hickey. I accordingly went to Mr. Davies, who most kindly interested himself in my favour, and so effectually that through his and Mr. Shaw's exertions the business was ultimately arranged by Captain Fenwick's being accepted in my stead, the Governor-General thereupon ordering my bond to be cancelled.

This was an escape indeed, and thus did I luckily get out of a scrape that otherwise must have been my ruin and inevitably consigned me to a prison for life. A further advantage arose to me out of the risk I had been involved in ; for Mr. Davies, the Advocate-General, previous to his engaging to exert his influence with the members of Government to consent to the substitution of Cuthbert Fenwick's

security for mine, required from me my sacred word of honour that if I should be cleared from my responsibility to the Company, I never would from that day forward, directly or indirectly, become security for any person or persons whomsoever for a larger amount than five hundred pounds, which promise, so required and given in consequence, relieved me from many unpleasant applications and importunate requests afterwards made to me to become bail or to join in different sorts of written securities, several of such favours being asked too, by persons who from the nature of my acquaintance with them, certainly had no right to ask or expect such an interference from me.

At the time the above transaction occurred, Captain Fenwick was under a prosecution in the Supreme Court for a very gross and scandalous libel written and published by him against William Larkins, Esquire, at that time the Company's Accountant-General in Bengal, and also for writing and sending the said Mr. Larkins a challenge calling upon him to give him satisfaction by meeting to fight a duel. In this prosecution I acted as Mr. Larkins's solicitor. Fenwick neither employed Attorney nor Counsel but pleaded his own cause, in doing which he bespattered the plaintiff Larkins, the Bench, the advocates, the witnesses, and every individual in any way concerned in the most disgusting language, using the most opprobrious epithets when alluding to Mr. Larkins. This indecent conduct, however, did not avail him, except by gratifying his malignancy in thus delivering his sentiments before a large audience. He was cast in heavy damages, but the cause being tried in the Sittings, judgment could not be perfected nor execution issue until the expiration of four days in the then ensuing term; before which time Fenwick got on board ship and went out of the jurisdiction of the Court.

A considerable number of individuals were involved and became material sufferers from the failure of Messieurs Cotton and Mair. Public credit likewise received another severe shock by the bankruptcy of a great mercantile house carried on under the firm of Thomas Graham, John Mou-

bray, Robert Graham, and William Skirrow, who suddenly stopped payment for an immense sum of money. Mr. Thomas Graham was an old Civil servant of the Company's, who had long been in expectation of obtaining a seat in the Supreme Council. Robert Graham was a brother of his who had been brought up in the banking house of Mayne, Needham and Company of Jermyn Street, London. Moubray and Skirrow had both received their mercantile education under eminent men in England and Holland. Shortly after the last-mentioned failure, an order came out from the Court of Directors, positively prohibiting any of their servants, either civil or military, from being partners in commercial houses, or carrying on trade in any manner whatsoever. They were even forbid to act as agents. The breaking of this respectable firm had such an effect upon the junior partner, Mr. Skirrow, that the poor man lost his senses, continuing between two and three years a confirmed lunatic. It likewise finally caused the deaths of both Moubray and Robert Graham. In despair at the sad reverse of their circumstances, and living in seclusion at the Dutch settlement of Chinsurah, they took to drinking spirits to such excess as to terminate their lives in about fifteen months after their misfortunes.

CHAPTER V

1791-1792

THE STRANGE CAREER OF ROBERT MORRIS. THE
FLIGHT OF MR. BENJAMIN MEE OF THE BENGAL
BANK. LORD CORNWALLIS'S ATTACK ON
SERINGAPATAM

MR. WILLIAM BURKE wrote me a letter from the Army saying he was quite tired of campaigning although his health continued excellent, that he should therefore take advantage of the first escort that was sent off to proceed with it to the coast of Malabar, from whence he could easily get to Bombay and there procure a passage for Europe, in consequence of which intention he wished that his house in Garden Reach might be disposed of if it could be done with advantage. Previous to his leaving Bengal to join the Army he had appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Murray, Mr. William Johnson, and myself, his Attornies. Upon showing his letter to those gentlemen, and consulting with them upon the subject, it was resolved to advertise the premises for sale, which we accordingly did. On the day appointed the sum bid not being deemed near adequate to the value of the estate it was bought in.

In the month of December, 1791, Mr. Robert Morris, a man of much celebrity in the political circles, arrived in Caloutta with an intention of practising as an Advocate, he having many years before been called to the Bar in England. He had made himself particularly conspicuous as a violent patriot in the days of Wilkes's popularity, of whose cause he was for some time an enthusiastic supporter. Upon the first establishment of the Society formed

in order to relieve and uphold their idol (Wilkes) calling themselves "The Bill of Rights," in the year 1768 or somewhere about that period, Mr. Morris was peculiarly active, voluntarily offering to officiate in the troublesome situation of Secretary. His proffered services being thankfully accepted, he was in consequence, when alluded to in any of the public prints, distinguished by the title of "Bill of Rights Morris."

After acting for a considerable time with much apparent zeal, his ardour ceased, and he tendered his resignation of the Secretaryship, at which the members in general were greatly surprized, some of whom took the liberty of asking his reason for wishing to secede, a question he bluffly replied to by saying, "He had something else to do." From which circumstance the waggish writers for the newspapers changed his title, and he was thenceforward designated as "Something else to do Morris," which title he retained until the time of his running away with Miss Harford, an heiress, whom he married, and then conveyed to the Continent, where after their co-habiting for several months, the capricious damsel grew tired of her onamorata; she therefore very artfully persuaded him that the act of taking her off had blown over, and they might therefore with safety return to England. The gentleman, not at all suspecting the object she had in contemplation, readily acceded to her wish of leaving France, and prepared for so doing. Having arranged his accounts they set sail for England, where Madam had no sooner set foot than she secretly made an application to the Lord Chancellor by petition for protection, stating that she being an uninformed, inexperienced girl of tender years, Mr. Morris had artfully worked himself into favour with her guardian, at whose house he frequently visited, thus becoming acquainted with her whom by a thousand different falsehoods and treacheries he finally persuaded to elope with him, directly conveyed her out of the kingdom, and had ever since kept her a close prisoner. She further stated that at the time she so went off with Mr. Morris she was not in her senses, and verily believed he

had administered some drug to her to deprive her of her reason.

Although the greater part of these charges against Morris were void of all foundation in truth, the little hussy, having herself laid the plan for leaving her guardian's protection and certainly in her perfect senses, had voluntarily gone off with Morris, yet enough remained in the case to justify the interference of the Chancellor, who after a full investigation and discussion of the case, compelled Morris to give up the person of the young lady and to restore her fortune. Finally the marriage was pronounced null and void. As to her person he was disposed to relinquish that without compunction, being as tired of her as she could possibly be of him, but with respect to the fortune it was quite another thing. That had become indispensably necessary to enable him to continue living in the style he had adopted, upon his connexion with her. He therefore fought his way inch by inch, but ultimately was obliged to yield.

Mr. Morris had originally a small patrimonial estate of a few hundreds a year, which he had nearly dissipated when he became known to Miss Harford, the being deprived of her property, added to the expence of contesting it, therefore reduced him to the greatest distress, and he was obliged to have recourse to a variety of schemes in order to obtain a subsistence. While his business with the lady was under discussion in the newspapers, he underwent a third change of title, being then described as "The Harford heiress Morris"; sometimes, however, in order to identify him, having a couple of aliases added.

Notwithstanding it was notorious that Mr. Morris's little property was all gone, he appeared as much in public as ever, kept a carriage, servants with smart liveries, and dressed in the height of fashion, from which the world were not backward in forming very unfavourable opinions; some people carried this so far as to assert that he went upon the highway. It is more probable that he lived by cheating the unwary at the common gaming tables of the Metropolis, many of which he was known to frequent, and

he undoubtedly was a remarkably sharp, clever fellow. Be that as it may, after leading a London life for many years he suddenly resolved to try what he could do in the East Indies where so many adventurers had been successful. He embarked accordingly. Unfortunately for him it happened that Sir William Dunkin, in his days of gaiety, had more than once encountered him in situations highly disreputable ; one in particular, where a young gentleman of rank and fortune who was playing with him at a common hazard table, detected him in cheating, and instantly accused him with having introduced loaded dice. Being directly seized by the company the dice he had in his hand were cut open and found to be loaded ; two other pair of the same description were also taken from his pocket. Upon this discovery he was extremely roughly handled by the party and then kicked downstairs.

Another circumstance that operated against Mr. Morris was his not having brought out a single letter of recommendation to either of the Judges, nor to any one individual belonging to the Court, though he had a number to some of the principal gentlemen of the Settlement, both civil and military. A few days after his arrival, which happened to be in Term time, he addressed a letter to each of the four Judges, wherein he informed them of the date of his being called to the Bar of the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, and that his object in coming to Bengal was to practice as an Advocate in the Supreme Court. Sir William Dunkin thereupon related to his brethren what he knew of Mr. Morris's former conduct, which, he added, in his opinion rendered him unworthy of a place at their Bar, or of being allowed to mix in the society of gentlemen. The other Judges' sentiments being the same, an answer was written by the Prothonotary and sent to Mr. Morris, telling him that the power of admitting Advocates at the Bar of the Supreme Court rested entirely with the Judges, and as they thought the number already sufficiently large to execute the business that occurred and to save something annually to do which was what brought professional men

so far from home, they did not consider it either prudent or just to increase them. Sir William Dunkin objected to this softening off and proposed sending the rejection in direct terms without evasion, by assigning the actual reason for their refusing his demand, but the other Judges conceived such a proceeding might be unnecessarily wounding the feelings of a man who perhaps had seen his errors and resolved upon a complete reformation.

Upon receipt of the answer through the principal officer of the Court, Mr. Morris again addressed the Judges, and told them that he never meant to ask, nor did he expect or wish for the smallest favour at their hands, either jointly or individually; that he required nothing but his inalienable right which, as a true-born Englishman, he would insist upon to his latest breath; that out of the respect that he felt for them as Justices of one of His Majesty's Courts he had communicated his intention, a compliment he did not conceive himself bound to pay them, for as a Barrister of the highest Court in England he contended he had a right to plead in any inferior Court he might choose to enter: that he should therefore attend in the Supreme Court of Calcutta the following morning, and trusted their Lordships would shew that they possessed common sense and common good manners, by receiving him like gentlemen, and not attempting to prevent his pursuing the profession he had been brought up to.

No notice whatever being taken of this second address, Morris made his appearance the next day equipped in gown, band, and wig, and upon the Judges taking their seats upon the Bench he rose, and in an eloquent speech renewed his claim of being permitted to plead as an Advocate. To which the Chief Justice replied in nearly the same terms as the written answer had been given. Mr. Morris thereupon, in very forcible and pointed terms, accused them of partiality and injustice, observing that as they had thought proper thus publicly and openly to traduce the character of a professional man, he hoped they would not refuse to assign their reasons for so doing. The

Chief Justice, after consulting with his brethren, said he did not consider himself bound to give any other reason than he had already done for exercising a discretionary power which the Legislature had vested in them. Morris thereupon interrupted the Judge violently exclaiming, "Then I will make you individually and personally responsible for your illegal and wanton tyranny." Mr. Justice Hyde, offended at his conduct, said, "You had better be more circumspect and guarded in your expressions, otherwise I certainly shall propose that you be delivered into the custody of the Sheriff. As to publicly declaring the motives that actuate me upon the present occasion, I shall not indulge you, nor will I, while I have a seat upon this Bench, submit to be dictated to by any pirating coxcomb whomsoever."

Sir William Jones agreed in opinion with the two Judges who had preceded him (Morris the whole time being busily engaged writing down what each Judge said). Sir William Dunkin, as the junior Judge, next addressed him to the following effect, "Mr. Robert Morris, you have in very unbecoming and indecorous language called upon the Judges of this Court to assign their specific reasons for refusing to allow of your practicing as an Advocate, and notwithstanding the other Judges have declined to comply with your desire, I have no hesitation in publishing to the whole world what my sentiments are upon the occasion. I object to your being admitted an Advocate of this Court from the notoriety and infamy of your character, and from the vile, abandoned, and disgraceful life you have led for many years past." Morris appeared to be utterly confounded; after shewing the utmost agitation, he suddenly rose from his seat and left the Court without uttering another syllable.

Shortly after this Morris went up the country, making himself conspicuous by his violent conduct wherever he remained twelve hours. Among other whims he made it a practice to visit the gaols of every town he stopped at, enquiring into the particulars of each prisoner's case, and

then assuring them that nine out of every ten were illegally confined and would be justified in using forcible means to obtain their liberty. In a letter he wrote from Patna to an acquaintance in Calcutta, he says that in the prison there he had found a native nearly related to one of the oldest and best families of Hindostan who many years before had murdered and, as was supposed, robbed an English gentleman who was travelling with considerable property in money and jewels about him. There being great reason to suspect the above person, who had the title of Rajah, was a party concerned, a warrant was issued for his apprehension, of which, however, he got notice and absconded. After living in secret for some time, he went to Lucknow, where the Governor-General, Mr. Hastings, then happened to be, to whom he got introduced, and through the medium of the Vizier, procured the said Governor-General's free pardon for the above-mentioned murder and robbery, but for which pardon he paid a large sum of money (as Morris plainly insinuated) to Mr. Hastings. Morris further stated that such pardon was written in the Persian language, and had Mr. Hastings's seal affixed to it, and there could not be the least doubt of its authenticity: that the Rajah had shewn him this pardon, but would not suffer it to be taken out of his sight, though he made no scruple of letting him (Morris) make a copy thereof, and he actually had taken a true and faithful transcript. He adds, "What a precious *morceau* this pardon would be for the Right Honourable Edmund Burke to produce to the House." Happily for society this dangerous and troublesome man was carried off by an attack of liver about eight months after he left Calcutta.

My spasmodic complaint still annoyed me at times, though since opening the issue in my arm I certainly had not either so frequent or violent attacks as thenceforth, I also found that the application occasionally to aperient medicines, tended to keep them under. Still, however, it was evident that I held life by a very precarious tenure. I therefore thought it prudent to make a Will, not under the idea of having any property to bequeath, but to secure

the attention of confidential friends in the inspection and arrangement of various papers of consequence put under my care by different clients who honoured me with their business and confidence as their Attorney.

In the month of January, 1792, I accordingly made and executed my last Will and Testament in the presence of three valuable and respected friends, Benjamin Mee, John Rider, and David Ross, all at that time strong and hale men in the prime and vigour of life, whilst I was a poor miserable emaciated wretch, never for four-and-twenty following hours free from acute pain, yet the three are all long since gone to "that bourn from whence no traveller returns," while I still exist, and for several years last past in comparative excellent health.

Mr. Davies's constitution was so shattered he was obliged to abandon the duties of his profession entirely, his physician telling him his only chance of surviving until the season for the departure of the Europe ships, was by keeping himself quite quiet and trying change of air; he therefore went upon the river, but grew so much worse that in a fortnight he returned to his own house in Calcutta, where he lingered three weeks more, and in the middle of January, departed this life to the great regret of everybody who knew him. He left a very fine fortune for his widow and several children, appointing my friends William Larkins and John Shaw, Esquires, Executors of his Will, for whom I obtained probate, jointly with Mrs. Davies the Executrix.

Upon the death of Mr. Davies, Lord Cornwallis appointed Mr. Burroughs to the office of Advocate-General, from which moment the upstart hound became so arrogant and overbearing there was no enduring him.

At this period the Bengal Bank stopped payment, an event that gave me infinite concern, from the very great regard I entertained for the proprietors of it. Mr. Francis Mure, who had long been one of them, had just withdrawn his name from the firm, and embarked for Europe on board the *Kent*, Captain Hardinge. At the time of the failure the partners were only Mr. Jacob Rider and Mr. Benjamin

Mee. These two gentlemen, as I have already observed, unhappily for themselves, were led away, by the evil advice of others, from the banking business, which had they made it the sole object of their attention would have made them men of immense fortunes, into a variety of deep and expensive speculations, which turning out unfortunately, occasioned their ruin.¹

Mr. Richard Comyns Birch, who had married the daughter of Mr. Jacob Rider, being himself a creditor to a large amount, was, by the creditors at large, requested to take upon him the office of acting Trustee, to be occasionally assisted, when he required it, by three other of the principal creditors, which troublesome occupation he accepted and appointed me his Attorney.

During these distresses in Calcutta, Lord Cornwallis was engaged in the arduous conflict with Tippoo Sultaun. Detachments from the British Army had proved successful in capturing the important hill forts of Severndroog, Nundydroog, Chittledroog, and others, that had thentofore been generally considered as impregnable. Happily, too, they were all taken, though by storm, with little loss. The storming of Bangalore, a fortress of great strength and importance, was attended with much more slaughter than all the before mentioned forts united, but the capture of it was of the utmost consequence to enable the Army to proceed in their hostile determinations against the Mysore capital of Seringapatam.

Having the pleasure of being intimate with Captain Foulkes, commander of the *Asia*, I applied to him on behalf of my distressed friend, Mr. Mee. I knew Captain Foulkes to be a perfect gentleman, with a kind and benevolent mind, and therefore had no hesitation in communicating to him the precise situation in which Mr. Mee stood. His behaviour upon the occasion was exactly what I expected, liberal to the greatest degree. His ship was bound to Bencoolen, where she was to take in a cargo of pepper, and proceed from thence to Europe. This roundabout voyage prevented

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his having many passengers. In pursuance of Captain Foulkes's advice, it was settled that Mr. Mee should go on board under a feigned name. A cabin and every requisite accommodation being prepared for him, a short time previous to that fixed for his departure, I hired a sloop, into which, through the assistance of a friend in the Custom house, I got his luggage put, with the necessary provisions, etc., sending her off to Budge Budge, there to wait for further orders. The next morning being Sunday, I took him in my carriage to Sir William Dunkin's garden house, where we breakfasted. He then got into my boat, which in two hours conveyed him to the sloop, and four days afterwards I had the satisfaction to receive a letter from him, saying he was safe on board the *Asia*, laying off Saugor. He informed me that Captain Foulkes had received him with the utmost kindness, and upon seeing that he appeared anxious and uneasy, had assured him that he need not be under the least alarm, for that no stranger could enter the ship without the knowledge of his officers, and at any rate he would take effectual means to prevent anyone's having access to his (Mee's) cabin. He added that they were to sail the next morning.

In March we received very interesting accounts from the Army before Seringapatam. Lord Cornwallis, after being under the disagreeable necessity of raising the siege, from the season's being too far advanced to continue with prudence before the place, and to destroy great part of their battering train, fell back or retreated to Bangalore, there to wait, not only the change of the monsoon, but the arrival of fresh supplies of all sorts of military stores. The season once more becoming favourable, and the requisite supplies arrived, his Lordship again marched towards the capital. By this time the troops of the Nizam and the Mahrattas had joined the British, which made the consumption of provisions so immense that his Lordship was apprehensive a scarcity must soon follow; he therefore determined no longer to wait for a junction of Sir Robert Abercrombie with the Bombay Detachment under his command, but to

push on for Seringapatam and if possible storm the place with his select men. For this purpose his Lordship, after consulting with his leading officers, arranged his plan for a night attack. General Meadows was instructed with a certain force to proceed by one route, while Lord Cornwallis with the main body took another.

In a dark and dreadfully tempestuous night, Lord Cornwallis at the head of his men led them on through a heavy and incessant fire of artillery and mortars from the outworks of the fort. In the most gallant style the British carried the bastion they attacked, at which place General Meadows, according to the preconcerted plan, was to have met his Lordship and proceeded against a powerful battery that commanded the said bastion entirely, but owing either to treachery or to some mistake of the guides employed, the General's party did not come up for an hour and a half after Lord Cornwallis had done his part, the whole of which time his Lordship and his brave followers remained under a most severe and galling fire from the enemy without being able to return a single gun. The loss of lives was consequently very great, notwithstanding all which untoward circumstances, the extraordinary valour of two English regiments—nobly supported by about a thousand Bengal Sepoys—finally prevailed, carried all before them, and at break of day were in possession of the whole of the outworks. A flag of truce was then displayed from the citadel. A treaty immediately ensued, which terminated in a very honourable and advantageous peace being agreed upon, Tippoo Sultaun in a few hours sending out two of his sons to remain as hostages for the due performance of the conditions subscribed to by their father.

These sons of the Mysorean monarch were fine children of ten and nine years of age. Lord Cornwallis received and treated them with the most affectionate kindness and respect. After continuing a few days with the British Army they were, under a strong escort, sent off to the Presidency of Fort St. George, there to remain until the terms of the peace should be completely fulfilled by Tippoo.

Mr. William Burke wrote me a detailed account of the operations of our Army and, as he called it, the inconsiderate and impolitic peace, with which he was much dissatisfied, because as he stated, twelve hours more must have put the British in complete possession of Seringapatam, and according to his opinion his Lordship was wrong in stopping short of that object. Upon that point, however, there were very different opinions among our leaders. By the measure Lord Cornwallis adopted, a prodigious effusion of blood was spared that otherwise must have been spilt, which surely was a very important consideration ; and, as such, operated forcibly upon the humane mind of the British Commander-in-Chief. In India his conduct was more generally censured than not, but in England it was highly approved of.

In the month of April I was appealed to by my esteemed friend, Mr. George Elliot, to prepare his marriage settlement with Miss Rachael Dunkin, a business I set about and executed with real satisfaction, feeling it to be in every respect a most desirable match. I had the further satisfaction of being present at the wedding and the splendid dinner given by the lady's father in consequence.

Sir William Dunkin who delighted in a river excursion during the long vacation, formed one for this, which he pressed me much to join, but for various reasons I declined it. At the end of July, the Judge, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Macnaghten, Mr. and Mrs. Elliot, and a young Irishman named Leslie, with whose family they were all intimate, and who was then recently arrived from Europe, set forth from Calcutta. I attended at Sir William's to take leave of the party and see them depart. While conducting Mrs. Elliot to the carriage, she, with much earnestness, pressed my hand, the tears gushing from her eyes, and said, "Would to God, my dear Hickey, we could do as you have done ; decline being of this party ; neither my darling George nor myself like the thoughts of it, but knew not how to refuse complying with the wishes of my dear father."

Just as the party left Calcutta, Lord Cornwallis returned

to it from his Mysorean campaign, looking thin, ill, and exhausted, which could not be wondered at, considering the extraordinary fatigue of body and exertion of mind he had gone through for many preceding months. By this arduous service his respect for, and attachment to, the Bengal Sepoys was greatly increased, of which he gave various proofs, and never scrupled to declare that he owed his life to the wonderful intrepidity and persevering resolution of Captain Archdekin's Battalion.

In the night I have already alluded to, when, owing to the corps under General Meadows not being at the previously arranged point, Lord Cornwallis was for such a length of time exposed to a destructive fire from the enemy, the men around him, consisting principally of the above Battalion, stood firm and undaunted, though falling fast from the shot discharged from the works. At that critical moment a spy gave intelligence that a sortie was intended, when every man would be put to death. Major Skelly, one of Lord Cornwallis's aides-de-camp, immediately communicated the news to Captain Archdekin, who thereupon harangued his men, proposing they should stand by their Commander-in-Chief with their last drop of blood. Four companies of one of His Majesty's Regiments of infantry joined the noble Sepoys, resolved to rescue his Lordship or perish with him. Their ammunition being expended, they had only their bayonets to depend upon, of which however they made such effectual use that the immense body of men that made the sortie were shockingly out up. After upwards of twelve hundred being slain the rest with the utmost precipitation and confusion returned to the fort. In this conflict, however, more than three hundred of the gallant Sepoys fell, with their intrepid commander, Archdekin, whose body was found covered with wounds. We also lost near two hundred Europeans. But their object was answered in preserving the invaluable life of their heroic General, who most happily, amidst the actual showers of ball and the men contending hand to hand with swords and bayonets, escaped untouched. Captain

Archdekin's death was universally felt and lamented by the whole British Army.

My Europe letters of this season announced to me the death of my uncle, William Boulton, Esq., my mother's brother, of whom I have before made *honourable* mention. He had arrived at an advanced age. He died without naming any one of my family in his Will, although he had often been heard to declare that he certainly would leave to each of his much loved sister's children a handsome legacy. For myself I was neither disappointed nor surprised at the circumstance. He left a widow, one son, and three daughters.

General Meadows, who from the time of the unlucky mistake which prevented the performance of his part of the plan before Seringapatam and which had so nearly proved fatal to Lord Cornwallis, though certainly in no manner blameable himself, was greatly affected by it, and was by everybody observed to be extremely dejected. After shutting himself up, secluded from all society, in his tent for three days, he made an attempt at suicide, putting a pistol to his breast and discharging the contents into his body; the report carried the attendants in, when he was found laying on the ground weltering in his blood. Surgeons being instantly summoned, upon examining and observing the wound, which they probed in every direction without being able to discover the ball, pronounced his death to be inevitable, notwithstanding which sentence, the patient continued for several days in the same state, then appeared to mend, and the wound looked favourable. Finally he recovered, from which the surgeons positively asserted there could not have been any ball in the pistol; the General therefore, must in the agitation of his mind either have forgotten to put in the ball, or having introduced it, it must before he discharged the pistol have fallen out! Most people imagined that his high spirit would, like that of the unfortunate Lord Chancellor Yorke, have led him to complete his purpose in preference to living under the stigma attached to having made such an attempt. But

they were mistaken. He is still alive, bears a lucrative command, and has long been a Knight of the Bath.

The society of Calcutta, with a degree of illiberality not common amongst them, taxed my unfortunate friend, Mr. Mee, with taking away with him at the time he absconded, a large sum of money, part of the stock of the Bengal Bank, which he had secreted for the purpose. In vain did I, whenever I heard such insinuations, stand forward as his advocate and defender, asserting what I knew to be a fact that at the time of his departure he had only a few hundred rupees in his possession, an amount totally inadequate to defray his expences to Europe, and that he depended upon his own family in England enabling him to discharge his pecuniary obligations to the worthy Captain Foulkes who had generously offered to furnish him with whatever sum he required.

In the latter end of August, with heartfelt grief, I perused a letter from Mr. Macnaghten giving me the melancholy tidings of the death of my truly esteemed friend Mr. George Elliot. Their party had reached Monghyr, all in perfect health, where they spent a cheerful week with the hospitable Commanding Officer, General Ellerker. The young folks were one of the evenings engaged in the merry dance, when one of those tremendous storms distinguished by the name of North Westers came on. The bungalow they were in was unhappily struck by the lightning. The vivid fire entered the room in which the party were assembled, and three of the company were struck prostrate, but in the course of a few minutes were apparently perfectly recovered. All present were more or less affected. Every wall shade was smashed to atoms, the lights being extinguished by the lightning, and the room was filled with a strong and oppressive sulphurous vapour. Mr. Elliot was one of the three struck down, but on his recovery said he felt no ill effects whatever from the accident. Three or four days afterwards he complained of an unpleasant sensation in his head and at times a numbness in his legs and arms, but neither was thought of any consequence, nor likely to produce future

mischief; the fright of the party therefore ended in a hearty laugh when talking over the ridiculous situation of the party scrambling about the room in utter darkness.

Mr. Elliot, however, although he made no complaints, did not feel himself well even when he professed to be so. In this situation they arrived at Boglepore, on their way back to the Presidency, when Mr. Elliot found himself so ill as to deem it prudent to apply for advice to Doctor Glass, the established surgeon of the station, who was considered to be a man of skill in his profession. Doctor Glass seemed to consider the attack of little importance, assuring Mrs. Elliot there was not the least danger or cause for alarm, the complaint originating in bile, which attention and a few days' course of medicine would certainly set to rights; thus matters continued during four days when, though the patient remained languid, the doctor had no idea of danger; but upon visiting Mr. Elliot early in the morning of the fifth day, he was thunderstruck and confounded at finding the symptoms so greatly changed for the worse, as to leave him without a hope. He stayed by his bedside for two hours, when his patient expired. To describe the agony of distress his young widow was left in, as also that of the whole family, is impossible. Nothing but the lenient hand of Time could assuage such sorrow. The death of this excellent young man was indeed a heavy affliction to all those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

The Bachelor's or Thursday's Club, of which Mr. Elliot was a member until the time of his marriage, at that time consisted of the first people in the Settlement, and all paid the compliment to his memory of appearing in mourning for a month after his decease, an example that was at once adopted by the Bucks.

My family letters of this season informed me of the death of that illustrious artist, Sir Joshua Reynolds, with whom my father and sisters had for many years lived upon terms of the closest intimacy and friendship: also that he had bequeathed by his Will upwards of forty thousand pounds to his favourite niece, Miss Palmer, who shortly after her

uncle's death gave her hand to the worthy Earl of Inohiquin, he having been for several years greatly attached to her.

Mr. William Johnson, an Attorney of the Supreme Court, of whom I have already spoken, was a nephew of Sir Joshua's. His uncle left him as a mark of his attachment and regard, for money he knew he was not in want of, his watch, chain, and seals, a legacy many of the first characters in the Kingdom would have been proud of. Mr. Johnson, however, chose to treat it very contemptuously, affecting to consider himself exceedingly ill treated by having such a paltry memento left him! How unaccountable is the caprice of mankind. So weak and foolish was this Mr. Johnson that by way of marking his anger at so contemptible a recollection of him being made by his uncle's Will, he directly advertised for public sale by auction, every picture Sir Joshua had sent him, amongst which was a very fine portrait of Sir Joshua himself. Before the day fixed upon for such sale arrived, Mr. Johnson so far came to his recollection as to feel the folly and indelicacy of his conduct and he countermanded his order; the auction was stopped, but the consequent stigma very deservedly remained.

In September our Right Honourable Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief Lord Cornwallis, returned from his arduous campaign in the Carnatic. Being heartily tired of his Government he was extremely anxious to leave it and return to Europe, but did not consider it correct so to do until a successor should either arrive, or be known to be on his way to India. In a conversation I was honoured with by his Lordship, I first heard that Mr. William Burke had sailed for England on board a foreign ship from Madras previous to his Lordship's leaving that Presidency. Lord Cornwallis had suffered much in his health from the extraordinary exertions and fatigue he had undergone during the war, and had lost much of his flesh, looking wretchedly thin and ill.

Captain Colnett of the *King George*, Indiaman, who was at this time in Bengal, frequently accompanied me on a Saturday to Chinsurah, with which excursions he was highly

pleased. He soon became a great friend of my favourite, Jemdanee's, who was fond of romping with her "Lumbah Sahib" (big man) as she facetiously called him, he being uncommonly small in stature, certainly not above four feet and a half. He, however, made up in spirit what he wanted in body, for a braver man never existed.

CHAPTER VI

1793

EDMUND BURKE'S TERRIBLE MISTAKE AND TRIAL. ARRIVAL IN CALCUTTA OF SIR JOHN SHORE AND SIR ROBERT ABERCROMBIE

IN January, 1793, the Honourable Charles Stuart, a member of the Supreme Council, embarked for Europe, having saved from his income a sufficient fortune to enable him to live with comfort the remainder of his days in his native country. Mr. Thomas Graham, whom I have already spoken of, succeeded to the vacancy of Senior Civil Servant at the Presidency, but did not continue long in the station, the Court of Directors removing him from it under an idea that his commercial engagements and consequent connexions with many of the principal black people, to some of whom it was notorious he stood largely indebted, might induce an improper bias on his mind in their favour, and, of course, to the prejudice of the Company; an objection that, if well founded, applied with equal force at least perhaps in a still greater degree to any and every situation he might be employed in. But the worthy Cheesemongers of Leadenhall Street were never very remarkable either for their sagacity or even consistency; this remark they proved the justice of by placing him at the Board of Revenue upon turning him out of the Supreme Council, thereby putting him in a situation of all others the most objectionable, from the weight and influence it afforded him.

About this period I received a most affectionate letter from Captain John Pascal Larkins, wherein he informed me he had perfectly recovered his health and was in every respect contented and happy, having for ever quitted the

sea, and residing in the midst of his family, which had just been materially increased by his wife's bringing forth twins. In February of this year his brother William Larkins left Bengal on board the *Talbot* to spend the remnant of his life in England, having by his talents and industry acquired a competency, with an unblemished reputation.

Mr. Walter Gowdie, who was surgeon of the ship *Plassey* the voyage I sailed in her, but had for several years been on the medical establishment of Bengal, just now put a period to his existence in Calcutta, by swallowing a quantity of laudanum sufficient to effect his purpose, previous to which desperate act he addressed a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Murray, a fast and tried friend, wherein after taking an affectionate and solemn leave, he in a lighter strain speaks of what he was about to do, and his reasons for it, which were first, the seeing nothing worth preserving life for, and next, that gin and brandy had so far got the upper hand as to incapacitate him from pursuing the line of his profession or in fact to shew himself at all in society: that under such circumstances he saw no alternative but to take a final and effectual dose, which dose at that moment stood before him and in a few minutes would be poured into his stomach to relieve him from life and misery together. He concluded the letter by strongly recommending his children (of which he had several by a native woman who had long lived with him) to the colonel's special care and protection. He then swallowed the laudanum and in the morning was found a corpse.

Another instance of suicide occurred about the same time in Mr. Meyer, son of the eminent miniature painter. This young gentleman possessed considerable abilities. He filled with great credit an office of importance, under the Government, and was one of Lord Cornwallis's prime favourites. His manners and language were upon several occasions peculiarly eccentric; he had read much, though the free-thinking writers seemed to gratify him the most. These pernicious works had satisfied him that every human creature had a clear right to dispose of their own lives when-

ever tired of existence ; an opinion he was fond of sporting in society, and which he supported with all the plausibility of argument such a subject would bear. He often said he thought it likely he would adopt it himself in preference to lingering under the torture of excruciating headaches by which he was frequently attacked. " And when " (said he) " I do set about that business it shall not be a futile ridiculous attempt like General Meadows's, who never intended to be decisive, for a man seriously resolved upon such a deed never can fail."

He proved the truth of this assertion in his own case by literally blowing his skull to atoms. The day upon which this event happened I was to dine with my friend Mr. John Shaw, where a large party of men were assembled, amongst whom was Dr. Richard Fleming, then at the head of the Medical Board, who was a professed gourmand. We had just entered the dining-hall, the doctor glutting his eyes over the glorious dishes of Calipash and Calipee, with fine fat venison besides numerous rich and savoury et ceteras, when half a dozen servants came running out of breath to summon the said Dr. Fleming to Mr. Meyer, who, they exclaimed, had that instant shot himself. " Shot himself," replied the Doctor, " then of what the devil use oan I be ; go, you rascals, and call the Coroner." Having thus coolly dismissed the servants, he was seating himself at the dinner-table, when a note from Lord Cornwallis was delivered requesting his immediate attendanee upon the unfortunate Mr. Meyer. This could not be parried. The Doctor therefore, though with a very bad grace, ordered his palankeen, and cursing and grumbling he departed, having previously made Mr. Shaw promise to keep some of the green fat until his return which should be prompt as possible. In less than half an hour he returned—when several of the company enquiring whether Meyer was dead, " I shrewdly suspect he is," replied the Doctor, " I am sure if he still exists it is like Garrick's tailor in Harlequin's Invasion—without a head—for the devil an atom of skull could I find, though I certainly did not wait long in search

of it. Damn the fellow for fixing upon such a time to scatter his infernal brains about, but come, Master Shaw, where's my allowance of turtle and green fat, I hope you have retained a little of the latter for me." Thus unfeelingly did he speak of the poor young man's untimely end.

I was dining at the Government House one day this month when, among several extraordinary circumstances that had occurred during the Mysore campaign, and which Lord Cornwallis related at table, he said he had ascertained beyond all possibility of doubt that while the Army were before Seringapatam, Tippoo Sultaun had offered an enormous sum of money to the amount of some lacs of pagodas to any person or persons who should bring him his (Lord Cornwallis's) body *dead or alive!* "Thus" (continued his Lordship jocosely) "greatly overrating the value of my poor carcase, for which I apprehend no other person in the world would give a single sixpence."

Lord Cornwallis publicly announced his determination not to leave India until the following August, at which period the last instalment Tippoo had undertaken to pay would become due, as his Lordship was desirous to see the whole matter finally adjusted and the two hostages returned to their artful and treacherous father, previous to resigning his Government.

In the month of February the *Tartar* packet arrived from England, bringing us a variety of news, not the least extraordinary of which was that Mr. Shore had been created a baronet, and certainly would be Lord Cornwallis's successor as Governor-General. Likewise that General Sir Robert Abercrombie was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Bengal. These two nominations occasioned equal surprize, for Mr. Shore was a man of low origin, without any connexion of weight or influence, neither had he ever been known or thought of in Leadenhall Street until his apostasy with regard to Mr. Hastings. Sir Robert Abercrombie had been at the head of the Bombay Army, in which situation, so far from acquiring any reputation as a soldier, he had been greatly censured for the tardiness of his movements when

leading a large detachment of troops to assist Lord Cornwallis in the reduction of Seringapatam, and subsequently still more for his very precipitate and disgraceful retreat down the Ghauts in order to avoid encountering a body of the enemy which it was thought he ought to have engaged and beat; whereas he ran away in such a hurry as to be obliged to leave his sick with a considerable quantity of baggage behind him, all which fell into the enemy's hands.

By the *Tartar* I received particulars of an accident that had nearly proved fatal to my greatly respected friend Mrs. Burke. She had been confined to her room for some time by severe indisposition. Through her illness her affectionate husband had administered her medicine, not choosing to trust to their most attached domestics. Having one evening poured out and given her, as he supposed, the draught she had been ordered by her physician, she after drinking it endeavoured to compose herself to rest, but became more uneasy than usual, and in two hours afterwards the whole family were alarmed by the frantic cries of Mr. Burke for assistance, he exclaiming that his dear wife was dying, and that he had murdered her.

Medical aid was forthwith sought for in every direction. A servant upon one of the fleetest horses was dispatched to Windsor where a physician of eminence then resided. This doctor upon being told the occasion of the summons said his going could be of no use as the lady must inevitably expire before he could reach Butler's Court, but as the messenger still strongly urged him to go, he ordered a chaise and four and set off. In the interim all the aid that Beaconsfield afforded was supplied.

Mr. Burke, after having given the medicine as above stated, finding Mrs. Burke appeared worse than ever, became anxious to ascertain what the draught she had taken consisted of: he therefore asked her several questions, to which she answered it was very bitter and she conceived there must have been a good deal of laudanum in it. Upon this he went to the table to inspect the empty phials, when to his utter consternation and dismay he discovered

that he had mistaken the bottles, and instead of the intended draught had given her a two-ounce phial of laudanum. In an agony of despair he clasped his hands together, groaning out, "I have murdered you." The charming woman was all patience and resignation, her only object seeming to be to pacify and console her despairing husband.

An old and faithful butler, named Webster, upon learning what had happened, instantly ran up to Mr. Grove, the Apothecary of Beaconsfield, who returned with him, taking such remedies as he considered proper. Before he reached the house, however, Mrs. Burke had been violently sick and luckily discharged the greater part of the laudanum. The female servants were then directed to lift their mistress out of bed, and support her on each side in constantly moving, never suffering her to remain still for a moment or upon any account to sleep. In about three hours the Windsor physician arrived, who expressed the utmost astonishment at hearing that Mrs. Burke still lived. Upon visiting her and being told what had been administered, he approved of all Mr. Grove had done, and gave slight hopes that she might survive. By daylight in the morning four more physicians from other parts of the country were assembled, and their united efforts proved successful. In the course of the following day she was pronounced out of danger, although the effects of such an accident would probably appear for a long time to come. Had she expired under the influence of the laudanum, beyond a doubt it would have caused the death of Mr. Burke.

In February, 1793, a lottery was drawn in Calcutta, of which the promoters of the plan had, very much against my inclination, made me a Commissioner. As a number of tickets remained undisposed of the day previous to that fixed on for the drawing, some of the Commissioners proposed taking them amongst themselves as a joint concern. This I strenuously opposed, but as only one other Commissioner, Sir John Richardson, supported me, our opposition was of no avail. Sir John Richardson and myself were subsequently absurd enough to suffer ourselves to be over-

persuaded and to yield to the assertions of half a dozen interested men who impudently insisted it was impossible we could lose anything material by taking the whole of the unsold tickets amongst the Commissioners in general, and that according to all the fair calculation of chances, we should be great gainers. Such, however, certainly never was my opinion. The event proved which was right, each Commissioner had the sum of two thousand sicca rupees to pay as his share, arising from the purchase of the remaining tickets. Never in my life did I part with money so ungraciously, or with so much reluctance. Poor Sir John Richardson in his broad Scotch dialect exclaimed, "The De'il damn all your cursed *Looteries*. I had put asee (aside) twa thousand rupees to purchase mysel' a buggy and horse, but now I munna think of any such matter and must still submit to gang aboot upon my awn feet, for which the gude God confound the damned Commessioners."

On the sixth of the month a splendid entertainment was given by the civilians of Calcutta to Lord Cornwallis, in honour of the anniversary of his glorious achievement at Seringapatam. It was conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Fox Calcraft, who indisputably had infinite taste in such matters, but was always unjustifiably profuse. The expences attending it amounted to upwards of seven thousand pounds, an enormous sum for a single night's amusements. The example was followed by the military, who also gave his Lordship an entertainment equally sumptuous with the preceding, though it did not cost half the money, and a larger number of persons were present by fifty odd; this clearly betrayed a want of prudence and management in Colonel Calcraft.

This month Sir John Shore arrived, having been sent out to succeed Lord Cornwallis in the Government whenever his Lordship should think proper to vacate it. The newly created baronet seemed to be disappointed upon being informed that Lord Cornwallis did not intend to leave India until the following season.

Commodore Cornwallis made another visit to Calcutta in

order to arrange some points of consequence relative to the British Squadron he had the honour to command, previous to his noble brother's quitting the elevated station he held.

In March Sir Robert Abercrombie landed from Bombay, in order to take the command of the Army in Bengal, as soon as Lord Cornwallis should embark for Europe.

By a packet from England orders came out from the Court of Directors to restore my friend Mr. Jacob Rider to his rank in their service, which was accordingly done, and Lord Cornwallis immediately appointed him Judge in the Provincial Native Adaulat at Benares, the duties of which station he entered upon under somewhat peculiar circumstances, for, at the very time he was administering justice as a British magistrate, he was himself rendered incapable of receiving any benefit from the laws of his country by actually being an outlaw, that process having been completed against him in Westminster Hall in a cause instituted by the Madras house of Balfour and Company versus the proprietors of the Bengal Bank.

In May I received a letter telling me that little Quicksilver, the former Doctor of the *Nassau*, alias Jack Smith, had been appointed an Assistant Surgeon in the Company's Service on the Bengal Establishment. He was stated to me to be full as volatile if not absolutely mad as when I first became acquainted with him, but his friends observed that as he beyond a doubt had considerable merit and skill in his profession, the pursuit of which he was much attached to, they conceived he would in consequence get into great practice, especially as an operative surgeon.

This season we lost Colonel Auchmuty, an uncouth, strange, wild Irishman. He had amassed a large fortune in the Company's employ, which by his Will he distributed amongst a numerous offspring of children; of his peculiarities I shall say more by and by.

Commodore Cornwallis, having by regular rotation risen to the rank of Rear-Admiral, thereupon together with the whole of his Fleet, except the *Minerva*, sailed for Europe: thus leaving the Indian Seas only one ship to protect our

trade against an active enemy. The French, always upon the alert, ready to avail themselves of every opportunity that occurred for their advantage, directly sent forth a host of privateers which scoured the ocean in every direction, sadly annoying the British commerce by capturing every vessel that ventured to sea. So much mischief was done, that the British Government in Bengal at last resolved to equip and send out four East Indiamen, with one private ship, the *Nonsuch*, which they hired for the occasion, to cruise and act offensively against the enemy. These five ships being completely armed and tolerably well manned, were put under the command (as Commodore) of Captain Mitchell of the *William Pitt*, he being the senior Captain then in Bengal. The other ships were commanded by their respective captains. This little fleet soon cleared the Bay of Bengal of privateers; then proceeded to the Straits of Malacca and China Seas, altogether proving of important use. Captain Mitchell was afterwards knighted in consequence of his services upon this occasion.

Sir William Dunkin's unfortunate son Edward, continuing to be grievously afflicted with epileptic fits, they were under the necessity of sending him back to England. He accordingly embarked in the *Dutton*; the change, however, did not answer the wished-for effect; after lingering a few years he died miserably reduced, being little more than a skeleton.

I continued my weekly excursions to Chinsurah. Sir William Dunkin generally accompanied me during the vacations. We spent our time there in real good humour and mirth.

In July I received the two following letters from my esteemed friend Mr. Mee, the contents of which were not of a nature to afford me gratification, but I consoled myself under the hope of affairs mending. The first of these letters was dated "Near Ostend," and was in these words:

"MY DEAR HICKY,

"January 14th, 1793.

I wrote you a few lines by a Bengal Trader we fell in with as we were nearing Bencoolen, and on my departure from that

place I left a few lines more to be forwarded by the earliest opportunity. We stayed seven weeks at Bencoolen where we were very hospitably received and entertained ; I had the ill luck to fall out of a Bandy, whereby I broke some tendons of my leg which has caused me to limp ever since ; and the injured limb is become visibly less than the other. We had the misfortune to lose the pretty and pleasing Mrs. Aubrey, whom you knew in Bengal, fourteen days after we sailed from Bencoolen. Bilious obstructions were by the Surgeon assigned as the cause of her death.

Off the Cape of Good Hope we did not escape encountering a very tremendous storm, which lasted with the utmost fury during ten days and nights. Being adverse we were driven into the latitude of thirty-nine degrees and a half south. After rounding that boisterous promontory, very properly originally called 'The Cape of Storms,' we had a tolerable passage to the famous little Island of St. Helena. Captain Foulkes was uncommonly kind and friendly to me. By his conciliating manners and placid temper he was deservedly respected and esteemed by all his passengers. As on shore so was he on board his ship, always the perfect gentleman ; no nonsense about him as is too often the case with Commanders of ships.

On our arrival in England I found my family dispersed ; some of them being in Italy, others travelling about in different parts of England.

I had the cruel mortification to find that a very large Bill drawn upon Boehm's house in favour of Francis Mure, late of our Firm, to cover which draft we also sent them certain Bills on the Court of Directors, besides very large consignments of goods at prime cost, exceeding by far in value the said Bill, was nevertheless dishonoured ; they alleging that the troubles on the Continent had considerably lowered the rate of exchange, and so much interrupted the India Trade with England as to make it doubtful now what price the goods would fetch. They however have engaged to pay Mure the nett proceeds of the sale, whatever that may be, as well as surplus monies remitted to them. By the bye, no remittance can have been made since the failure. This circumstance oppresses me more than I can express. Mr. Rider has, it seems, written a letter to Balfour and Company's house, charging Mr. Mure as being positively responsible for their debt, in consequence of which strange conduct Mr. Mure, before I reached England was arrested and obliged to give bail to the

amount of Twenty thousand pounds. This is most cruel and unjust upon Mure, as some of the remittances were made subsequent to his leaving the Bengal Bank ; others were at that time in the house, and Messieurs Balfour and Company had full notice of his quitting the partnership ; no doubt therefore if they had thought him answerable, they would have called upon him in India.

This violent proceeding against Mr. Mure alarmed my connections lest any hostile measures might be adopted against me. My family therefore urged me to set off immediately for the Continent, without even permitting me time sufficient to visit my mother who resided at Bath. Thus situated I, without scruple, gave up my opinion to them and moved off to this place where I have been living in obscurity and dulness since the end of the month of October last, harassed too night and day with a diarrhoea which attacked me in the preceding June, and will not yield to any regimen or to the variety of medicines that have been prescribed. This teasing complaint, added to extraordinary vexation and disappointment upon disappointment has reduced me more than you can have any idea of.

The *Dutton's* arrival I flattered myself would have brought me letters from you, as well as from Davy Ross, but not a single line did I receive from either. Through an indirect channel I learn that Mr. Rider has obtained a Letter of Licence and is in consequence returned to Calcutta. Further I hear that the affairs of the Bengal Bank have been thrown into Chancery. Sincerely and from my heart do I wish the former report may be well founded, notwithstanding I know that in a secret and underhand manner he has been loading me with obloquy, and censure, as unmerited and unjust as it is ungenerous. I suppose too he throws every odium upon the memory of the too susceptible Gregory,¹ making him responsible for the ill success of the Godown concern, while on the other hand he describes himself as having been sacrificed by placing an implicit confidence in us, therefore the only object deserving of pity ! This is indeed ungenerous, and certainly unfounded.

That the self-created profound Lawyer and Trustee, Birch, should have perplexed the business of the Bengal Bank I am not at all surprized at but that the Creditors, amongst whom there are several very clear heads, should have permitted him to involve them in the intricacies and endless expences of a Chancery

¹ A manager of the Bengal Bank who committed suicide.—Ed.

Suit does indeed astonish me, and appears utterly incomprehensible.

I find Captain Hogan is ready to sail for India. He shall take with him a parcel of newspapers and the latest popular pamphlets for you, but by the early regular Bengal ships you shall have an ample supply, also the monthly magazines, and any interesting political publications; not forgetting a plentiful stock of all sorts of Garden and flower seeds, properly and carefully packed.

The preparations for war are going on rapidly; a small English naval force is at the entrance of the Scheldt, for the purpose of protecting the navigation. The French are disappointed in the disposition of the Brabanters, who have refused any other government than their ancient one, and violently resist against that of France. The French are in much distress from want of specie, of raiment and grain for themselves and their cattle; their desertions occur daily and their losses in battles and skirmishes far exceed their reports. It is generally imagined the National Convention will sentence the unfortunate King, Louis the sixteenth, to death, subject to the ratification of such sentence by the People. By such conduct the Convention expect and hope to secure themselves against the violence of the most daring and enterprizing, and in case the people should be adverse to inflicting death on their Sovereign, from rousing the enmity of other nations against such outrageous a measure. This is the day fixed on for the decision of the Convention.

You will see that opposition is divided in opinion relative to the necessity of some of the measures adopted by Administration. Lord Sheffield and Sir Gilbert Elliot seem to have abandoned Fox. The Duke of Portland and Mr. Windham, although they support Ministry as to the Bill to compel Aliens who have arrived since January, 1792, to give an account of themselves and to have their names registered, and also in some other political measures which the inattention or ignorance of the Ministry (as they say) have made necessary, yet are they by no means to be considered as approving the means that brought and keeps the present Administration in power. His Grace of Portland and Fox are I believe cordially attached in heart. The thanks of Parliament have been given to Lord Cornwallis for putting an end to the war in India, but such a vote the opposition do not consider as expressive of approving the having entered into such War, which part of the subject will be taken up and discussed on a future day.

Mr. Henchman, to my unspeakable surprize as well as that of all his friends, has desired a special Court of the Proprietors may be convened, when *he* intends to propose the thanks of that Body to his Lordship for his distinguished and eminent services. Had the time-serving, pompous, and sycophantic little Major Metcalfe done this it would have appeared more natural.

I am kept in weakly, and I am sure I may add *weakly* suspense here, and though I am ignorant who there is in England that I ought particularly to fear, still am I equally at a loss whom to trust. A man's business when executed by another is too often rendered a tedious and dilatory operation.

As I only remained a few hours in England, I of course could neither visit your sisters nor your brother, which I otherwise should have been happy to have done and fully intended.

I hope you are not so much troubled with those horrid spasms as heretofore, and that the lively and good-tempered Bibbe Saueh is in perfect health. I lately met with some ornaments, fresh from Paris, which from being so, I think likely she will admire and cry 'Wah! Wah!' at; they consist of bracelets, necklace and earrings. My best love to her and beg her to wear them for my sake. The green is not of the most brilliant colour, but it was quite the *Ton* at the celebration of the great Festival.

I trust that some packet is now near us from Bengal, that I may enjoy the satisfaction and real pleasure it will afford me, of hearing from you, which I most impatiently long for; rumour says that when Lord Macartney's mission to China is finished, he will be the person appointed to relieve if not supersede, Sir John Shore as Governor-General of the East.

Dull a correspondent as I know myself to be, you shall continue to hear from me occasionally, for I feel an inward and high satisfaction in addressing so sincere and respected a friend. Make my kindest remembrances to Sir William Dunkin and his family. He arrived at St. Helena, homeward bound, the day before we left it, and I was glad to find him in perfect health. I offered to take charge of any letters for Lady Dunkin, and he said he would write and send a packet early the following morning, but none came prior to my departure.

I understand Henchman everywhere gives it as his opinion that I ought to have stayed in Bengal, and had nothing to fear from Larkins, Vialars,¹ or in fact anyone else of the creditors, notwithstanding which opinion so strongly given I have overy

¹ A troublesome creditor of the Bengal Bank.—ED.

reason to know he is egregiously mistaken, I am therefore far from lamenting that I pursued your and Sir William Dunkin's advice,¹ uncomfortable as my situation undoubtedly is.

Send your letters under cover to Messrs. Edmund Boehm and Company, Merchants, London, who will always forward them.

Should Mr. William Burke be in Calcutta say everything that is friendly for me. I have put up for you some pamphlets and publications composed by our Legislators and Divines, as specimens of their loyal furor. Captain Hogan is upon the move, so I must conclude.

With hearty wishes for your own and your dear Bibee's health,

Believe me, my dear Hickey,

Ever most sincerely and truly yours,

B. MEE.

"Remember me to all enquiring friends."

"January 24th, 1793.

'MY DEAR HICKEY,

I wrote by Captain Hogan a few days since, and sent some newspapers and pamphlets, all I could collect here; also some new-fashioned Parisian ornaments for the kind-hearted Fatty, such as have been actually sent by the National Convention to the Grand Signior as presents for his favourite Sultanas. I now send by Captain Stout, some public newspapers which will shew you the mode of proceedings that have been adopted against the deservedly lamented and most ill-treated King of France, who was most iniquitously and barbarously put to death, that is, basely murdered on Monday last. The ill-fated Monarch behaved with the greatest fortitude to the last moment of his life; he declared that he was innocent of the crimes alleged against him, and for which he was going to die, but that for two years past he had foreseen that he was to be sacrificed to the mistaken prejudices and inconsiderate fury of the populace. When upon the scaffold he wished to address the surrounding spectators, whercupon an immediate and loud cry of 'point d'harangue' burst forth from those nearest the martyr, accompanied by such a rattling of drums and sounding of trumpets as completely to drown the voice of the King. The instant his head was severed from the body there was a universal shout of 'Vive la Nation,' the infuriated multitude and brutal soldiery

¹ Mr. Mee refers to their help in his escape.—ED.

joining in it huzzaing and throwing their hats and caps into the air. Great commotions are expected in Paris upon this sad event, the majority of votes for his death was small. Roland's departure has been prevented and a counter-revolution may fairly and reasonably be expected. War between France and us does not appear far distant if the Declarations of the French are to be depended upon.

Our Court has peremptorily refused to receive or acknowledge Monsieur Chauvelin, as Ambassador or Minister from the Republic, the Secretary of State returning to him the Provisionary Assembly's manifesto unanswered! The French had a large Fleet, consisting of three Eightys, and twelve Seventy fours, with a vast number of Frigates and smaller vessels, besides a host of Transports filled with Troops in the Mediterranean. Why so formidable a force was allowed to get together remains to be explained! This truly serious armament was intended to humiliate Genoa, Naples, and Sardinia all which powers had shewn a disposition to disapprove the strange measures adopted by France. But providence interfered, for on the 20th of December last a violent storm totally dispersed this formidable Fleet, the *Languedoc*, one of the Eighty Gun ships and several others suffering so much as to be rendered incapable of keeping the sea.

I informed you in my former letter that upon my arrival in London I had the distressing mortification to learn that the Bill our unhappy Firm granted to Mure had been refused payment by Messieurs Boehms and Company under a pretence of their not having been able to realize our consignments of various goods, owing to the low exchange between London and Paris added to the universal disturbances that prevailed all over the Continent. The House have however recovered the greatest part of sixteen thousand pounds insured by us on the *Foulis* in which a large quantity of our property was shipped. They have also received the amount of a protested Bill of Canning's for twelve hundred pounds and one of Mr. William Burke's under similar circumstances, for two thousand. Of the latter event be good enough to inform Sir William Dunkin, who behaved in an uncommonly kind and friendly manner in that business and to whom I would write expressive of my feelings but indeed, my friend, I am all over completely unnerved.

If the goods still on hand do not sell most infamously under their value there must yet be assets amply to discharge the

above-mentioned Bill. I naturally feel extremely anxious for the success of the sales. As an additional cause of uneasiness I discovered that Mr. Rider had written a strange letter to Messieurs Balfour and Company, saying their paper was out on loan in order to support the credit of the Bengal Bank at the period of Mure's withdrawing his name and interest from it. In consequence they commenced an action, arrested Mure, and he was obliged to find bail for Twenty thousand pounds. I have not seen this improper letter, but Mr. Rider well knows much of that paper was received from Balfours since Mure quitted, and much has been in the Bengal Bank since ; I have not heard anything of the suits going on since the cruel arrest and therefore hope the injustice of the demand has been seen and felt and the business consequently dropped.

In consequence of the alarms my friends entertained about me, I almost instantly set off for the Continent, there to abide until the temper of individuals could be ascertained. I have now been three long months in as melancholy a place as can be except an absolute Gaol ! No society, if I even wished for any. The weather abominably bad. With a serious complaint in my bowels, which has been gradually increasing during the last six months and sadly reduces me, I am no longer entitled to the name of your 'fat friend,' being literally nothing but 'skin and grief.' I cannot learn with any degree of certainty whether or not I should endanger my personal liberty by returning to England and am therefore advised to continue in this unsettled and wretched condition.

I have ordered Garden seeds in abundance and of various sorts for you ; oblige me by giving a small proportion of them to Ireland, who from his superior skill in gardening and uncommon attention will make them productive if any person can, and pray tell me particularly as to the vegetables, whether they thrive or not, as I suggested a new mode of packing them. I also send newspapers and magazines. Some cheese for toasting and other articles I have in view shall go by one of our Indiamen. The few hours I remained in England I did not venture out of the house which prevented my seeing any of your family. For the enjoyment of personal liberty I feel gratefully indebted to your friendship and sensible advice, and however distresses now hang over me I am endeavouring to bear up against them and look to a future period for consolation. But this is a sorry subject to dwell upon. I flatter myself I shall soon hear from

you ; not a line have I received from India since I left Bencoolen. Remember me to Sir William Dunkin and family. My love to Bibee Fatty. With the most sincere and earnest wishes for your health and happiness,

I remain,
Ever most affectionately yours,

B. MERR.

Soon after Lord Cornwallis's return from the coast of Coromandel, Major Capper arrived in Calcutta, having come from England overland with dispatches. He likewise brought out for Lord Cornwallis the title of Marquis, and the Insignia of the high Order of the Garter. The Major being armed with all the requisite authorities from our Gracious Sovereign to invest his Lordship therewith, that ceremony accordingly took place at the Government House with great pomp and state, and under a salute of nineteen guns from the ramparts of Fort William.

In August, Marquis Cornwallis embarked on board the *Swallow* packet for England, to the great regret of everyone in the settlement, except Sir John Shore and his immediate dependents, who were all well pleased to enter upon their lucrative posts.

In September I received the following letter from my esteemed friend Mr. Cane.

“ TOURS,

February 20th, 1793.

“ MY DEAR WILL,

About the tenth of last November I wrote you a long letter and sent it to England by a Mr. Watts, who had resided here four or five months. I requested him to leave it with Mr. Pinkett, No. 8 Furnivals Inn, to be by him forwarded to you by the first ship. Hearing nothing from Mr. Pinkett on the subject, led me to make further enquiries respecting the said Mr. Watts, and ten days ago to my great mortification I discovered that he died at Brussels in the beginning of December, and that in the confusion arising from the French taking possession of the town all his papers were either destroyed or lost. I therefore now take the opportunity of a French gentleman's departure from hence

for England to give you an account of myself and though very far from well, I sit down to communicate my melancholy story to you who I know feel interested in everything about me.

On the 4th of June last my son arrived here, intending to spend a few months in the society of his mother and myself. He was then in a very indifferent state of health apparently far gone in a decline. The sight of him in such a situation affected poor Mrs. Cane so much as to occasion a violent bleeding of the mouth to which she had been subject for the two preceding years. She instantly stopped it by applying Ruspini's styptic, but the blood not being permitted to flow as nature prompted, took a more fatal direction, and immediately produced apoplexy, in which melancholy state she remained entirely senseless, until four o'clock the following morning, when she escaped from a life of much bodily and much mental suffering. I shall not attempt to describe to you what I felt and still feel, as you have unfortunately been in a similar situation. We had been married twenty-one years and two days, and I can safely declare she never *intentionally* gave me reasonable cause of complaint. The irritability of her nerves made her at times troublesome, but she was then more an object of compassion than resentment. She was the most innocent person I ever knew, and had the greatest number of perfections with the fewest faults, but I will say no more on the subject which is as fresh to my memory as the day it happened; and no time can ever blot it from my remembrance. With her I lost my principal means of support, not only the two hundred pounds per annum pin money, but nine years' arrears, which from the obstinacy of General Armstrong, one of the Trustees under her Marriage Settlement was due at the time of Mrs. Cane's death and which if I now claim, the Creditors will forthwith seize, nor can the amount as I am informed be in any way paid without a Bill in Equity. Thus circumstanced how welcome your remittance was you may easily judge. I however only retained for my own use seventy pounds of it, as Mr. Roger Wilbraham had kindly advanced one hundred and forty pounds, the expence attending my wife's funeral. She had always expressed a horror of the idea of being buried in France, I had therefore faithfully promised her to send her remains to Birkhamstead, there to be interred by her father and mother. I could very ill spare the charges of it but such a promise I considered as sacred, and I made a point of keeping it.

My son has somewhat recovered from the tendency there was

towards consumption, but it has been to give me fresh trouble on another score. He is desperately in love and has just declared to me that he will return here to marry a girl who has not one shilling of fortune, whose family on both sides, male and female, are all rogues and whores ! The object of his passion is consumptive ; a bigotted papist, who has been brought up upon the knees of all the young Englishmen that have resided in these parts for the last seven years, with whom she has been guilty of every filthy pollution, such as even the most abandoned Covent Garden prostitute would have blushed at. And yet my son threatens to forsake and quit me to espouse such a description of person.

On the prospect of a war he was ordered home, yet he loitered here above a month with his enamorata, notwithstanding my most powerful remonstrances. At last on the 5th of January he departed, from which day he never wrote me a single line. Am I not peculiarly unfortunate ? My dear Will, you offered me your services in respect to Popham. If you can assist me in the following matter, pray do, for it will enable me to buy up between seventy and one hundred pounds a year of my annuities in another name, and so rub on till something better happens. About ten years ago I sent out a note of Pophams, through Mr. Roger Wilbraham to Mr. Garrow of Madras, with a view to the recovery. There is now nineteen years' interest due upon this note. Do write to Mr. Garrow. If he does not choose to act against Popham, even in a just and righteous cause, request of him to put it into the hands of some person who will put it in a train of recovery. Instead of the whole, if Popham will pay down two hundred pounds and give three Bills for one hundred pounds each, payable at one, two, and three years, I will abandon all claim to the rest, which will be at the time this reaches you, upwards of ninety pounds. Mr. Garrow is furnished with a full power of Attorney from me to act in this business. Whatever he receives let him remit the amount to Mr. Roger Wilbraham, the gentleman I have already mentioned. In good faith it will be charity to get this matter effected for me.

Provided Popham will not come into the foregoing terms, make the best bargain you can for me with the unprincipled man, at all events get something down, which I may receive in the summer of 1794 ; otherwise I fear it may come too late, and your unfortunate friend be starved in the interim. Should you live to return to Europe and I be in existence at the time,

I trust that you will come and pay me a visit. This is the most charming climate in the world. I have a small neat house, very prettily furnished, a large garden, although in the centre of the town. A single man can live here like a King for three hundred and fifty pounds a year, keep two maids (one handsome !) and a man servant, a saddle and a chaise horse, see the best company and entertain once a month in return for dinners and suppers he receives. Don't let ambition make you stay too long on the Banks of the Hooghley ; I protest there is no person alive I should be so rejoiced to see as yourself, and I do not entirely despair of it, but it must be in France as England is for ever shut against me.

I will not say much upon the subject of Politics as that might be a means of this not reaching you, which would afford me real concern. I have some apprehensions of obstructions in my liver, which possibly might be relieved, if not wholly cured, by the waters of Barège, or Caunterets, in the Pyrenees, but the Spaniards are in motion in those parts and I do not think it would be safe for me to go there this year. The next perhaps I may try if it prove not too late.

You and I were always opposition men, and fortune seems to be to us what we were to Ministers. I must release you at present as the gentleman who takes charge of this letter is come ; I shall make enquiries, and if a packet sails in May or June, as sometimes I understand is the case, I will write to you again. Once a year as long as I live, depend upon a letter from me. In a word, I hold myself as much obliged to you for your honourable payment at a time I was in pressing need of it, as you were to me for the original loan. So farewell, my old and firm friend. Living or dying, be persuaded of the unalterable regard of your faithful and affectionate

W. CANE."

In consequence of the above recited letter I immediately addressed both Mr. Garrow and the unfeeling Popham at Madras, neither of whom ever returned me one word of answer. So anxiously desirous was I of benefiting my distressed friend Cane, that notwithstanding the contempt in which I held the upstart, purse-proud Advocate-General, Mr. Burroughs, I humbled myself so far as to apply again to him to endeavour to prevail upon him to exert any

influence he might have over Mr. Stephon Popham, publicly or privately, in favour of his (Burroughs's) injured relation, Mr. Cane, who required no more than what was justly due to him. In which second attempt I proved as unsuccessful as I had before been with the contemptible lawyer himself, with Mr. Garrow or with the scoundrel Popham; Mr. Burroughs was so cold and so indifferent that I could not help expressing to him my concern at having made the application, and that too in pretty strong language. In my next letter to Mr. Cane I fairly represented all that had occurred and the great mortification and disappointment I had felt at the ungenerous and cold behaviour of Mr. Burroughs upon the occasion, especially as from the manner in which he spoke of his regard and affection for him (Cane), I trusted he would have used his best endeavours to assist and serve him. I, however, found from my friend Cane's next letter, which will be hereinafter set forth, that he knew the despicable fellow far better than I did.

CHAPTER VII

1793

LETTERS FROM MR. BENJAMIN MEE. A MAD DOCTOR
AND A WHIMSICAL COLONEL

ON the 4th of October I received the following letter from Mr. Mee.

“ OSTEND,
April 22nd, 1793.

“ MY DEAR HICKEY,

By the Captains Hogan and Stout I wrote to you in the month of January : By Captain Hogan I sent you a small box of fashionable Parisian ornaments for my favourite, the gentle and kind Fatty, also a variety of papers and books for yourself. I also wrote by one of the Company's regular ships, and as I found my continuing on the Continent was still thought advisable I directed my London bookseller to forward to you by the ships that sailed at different seasons, the newspapers, Monthly Magazines, and any interesting pamphlets that might be published. I likewise gave directions for furnishing you with some superior cheeses, Pine as well as thin Jackdaw for Welsh Rabbits. I would have sent a Parmesan (which I know you do not like) to John Rider, had I not been aware he was no housekeeper, and knowing he can always get his fill of it at Dashwood's or at John Haldane's.

I sent you some Garden and flower seeds packed in a new and I think particularly secure manner. All these I hope arrived safe and in good condition.

I told you I had not received any letters and how vexed I was to hear our goods still remained undisposed of, which when realized were to be applied towards the payment of Mure's Bill. I believe I also mentioned that I continued in lodgings here, passing week after week, and month after month, in unvaried depression of spirits and sorrow with scarce a speaking acquaint-

ance in the Town. While the French were here, frequently alarmed lest under a pretence of searching for arms, they might proceed to pillage, seize my papers, vote me an Aristocrat and incarcerate me. They did more than once threaten plunder, but at length retired, without doing any mischief. This was fortunate, for the Townsmen showed them no great liking, quite *au contraire*. Great has been the fluctuations in Continental as well as English politics, as the papers evince. Doumourier is gone into Switzerland, to attempt to raise an army to oppose the Republic in France, which he chose to betray without possessing that degree of influence over the military he expected. He wished to remain with the Austrians until he discovered they were not disposed to place any reliance in him. No naval action has as yet occurred between France and us, nor is any likely to occur, the French not appearing disposed to leave their harbours. Their army is ill clothed, badly officered, and entirely undisciplined. They are however in great force, but continue retreating as the combined armies advance. His Royal Highness the Duke of York commands beyond Tournay an army consisting of Thirty-two thousand men, made of Prussians, Dutch, Hanoverians, and about four thousand English. Valenciennes, Condé and Lisle are completely surrounded. Dunkirk is to be attacked on our return from the French Frontiers; France is now at war with every Power, except Sweden, Denmark and America. The Jacobin faction diminishing fast; Marat imprisoned in the Abbaye at Paris; Monsieur Egalité, formerly the Duke of Orleans, arrested and to be sent to Marseilles, as rumour says, for trial.

Russia has declared against France, and internal commotions daily increasing; the sword alone governs. When I heard we were to send British troops and subsidize Hanover with a view to opposing France, I thought some appointment in the Commissary line might perchance be obtained and pave the way to something else, at the close of the War. I suggested this and it was immediately taken up with friendly ardour by Mr. Stanley, Member of Parliament for Lancashire. This gentleman stated my case in such a way to Mr. Pitt that that Minister after making various enquiries respecting me, declared that although I was not personally known to him he should be glad to serve me.

I have a letter this day saying I may expect an appointment in the Commissariat from the Treasury, nothing being wanted but the formal consent of Mr. Brook-Watson, the Commissary-General whose own exertions in my favour I know I can con-

fidently rely on, he assured me, when I lately saw him at Bruges. Now, how do I wish that I had such a friend as you at my elbow that I might consult with as to the sort of application it might be prudent for me to make to the Asiatic Creditors and others, to procure, if not a permanent, at least a temporary security of person.

I hear the *Europa* and *General Goddard*, Indiamen, are arrived. I shall therefore wait in anxious hopes of getting letters from you. I fear, as I told Henschman, that great mismanagement has occurred for the business to have got into Chancery. Henschman has never written to me; I suspected Mr. Rider had been endeavouring to prejudice him against me, but he assures my brother-in-law, Mr. Culverden, that is not the case, so far from it, that Mr. Rider always spoke of me with great regard. Boehm's House have a letter from Mr. Rider, as they tell me a strange one, not in any way favourable to the parties formerly connected with him. It contained directions to them to retain all monies in their hands for the Trustees appointed to act for the Creditors of the Bengal Bank. This letter was delivered open! by Birch's Father!

Mr. Rider ought to have recollected that this money was guaranteed to Mr. Mure as a counter security for the Bill we gave him; I hoped for every good effect from Mr. Rider's return to Calcutta, but I now dreadfully fear a reverse consequence. How is your new Governor-General approved? Mr. Edmund Burke calls him "an accomplice of Hastings." That impeachment will last another year. I shall write again when I receive your letters, and hope to hear Fatty and yourself are quite well, and that your old dreadful and alarming complaint has at last been completely subdued. I cannot get my bowels into any sort of proper order, and find a regular monthly charge in my accounts for taking in my clothes.

I had thoughts of writing to Mr. Rider but will wait the delivery of the letters, as I may perhaps hear from him. I know not by what ship this will go, but I send it to the care of Messieurs Boehm who I am sure will not omit to forward it with the utmost dispatch.

My love and good wishes to the gentle and every way amiable Fatty. Would that her good-natured countenance and sweet temper were here. She should have a capital fire in lieu of your burning sun, and nice highly peppered curries! Remember me to Sir William Dunkin and family. I hear Mr. William Burke

is coming home by an American ship. His Bill from us for two thousand pounds was duly honoured. I hope John Rider is well and that he has got some place from Lord Cornwallis to compensate for the tricks he experienced during the Great Man's absence, though between ourselves I cannot help thinking that his Lordship had his share therein. Adieu : every success and happiness attend you. This is the unfeigned wish of yours over most affectionately,

B. MEE."

About this period we received in Calcutta the unpleasant intelligence of the total loss of the *Winterton*, East Indiaman, outward bound, which ship was wrecked upon the Island of Madagascar, several of the passengers and crew being drowned. Amongst those who luckily escaped were six young ladies, two of them being daughters, by a native woman, of Mr. John Bristow, of whom I have already spoken as having married the celebrated St. Helena belle, Miss Wrangham. These six unfortunate females did not save a single article. They were, however, treated with the utmost compassion and kindness by the savage inhabitants of the Island ; a conduct that received its due reward, the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, upon the survivors of the wreck reaching Bengal, immediately despatching a pilot schooner laden with a variety of articles they knew would prove acceptable, as a present to the inhabitants of that part of the Island on which the *Winterton* was lost, for their humane and proper behaviour upon the melancholy occasion.

In the month of November of the same year (1793) I received another letter from my worthy friend Mr. Mee. It was in the following words :

"COURTRAY,

May 8th, 1793.

"MY DEAR HICKEY,

I wrote you about a week ago, and therein informed you that I hoped to get some appointment in the Commissary line. Last post brought me your welcome and most friendly letter, also one from Mr. Rose of the Treasury, informing me that Mr. Pitt had directed a Commission to be made out appointing me Deputy Commissary to the army on the Continent and desiring me to join with the least possible delay. Thus am I about to

commence an entirely new scene of life, and am just arrived at Courtray where I shall remain until to-morrow, it being safer to travel by day than by night in these turbulent times, the French having scouring parties out in all directions with a view to pillage; but I have heard such heavy cannonading the whole day that I believe they have had ample employment.

I was prepared to receive the unwelcome intelligence which you have communicated by your letter respecting the Bengal Bank affairs, being convinced in my own mind when they once got into a Court of Chancery that nothing short of the most scandalous mismanagement could have been the cause of such a measure being adopted. I should have imagined Mr. Rider would naturally have exerted himself to effect an adjustment, particularly as he so much dreaded the expenses consequent to law proceedings.

I have much to thank you for in vindicating my character against Mr. Birch's ungenerous insinuations; I also feel infinitely obliged to John Rider for his handsome exertions on the same score in defence of an absent man. Henchman writes me that to communicate what Mr. Rider and Mr. Birch say to him upon the subject would only be to promote an unpleasant correspondence between them and me, which could be of no possible benefit to either, he therefore declines doing it, but professes great inclination to serve me, offering many assurances of his high regard. Mr. Spalding is much exasperated at the Trustees (that is to say, Mr. Richard Comyns Birch), and seems at once both tender and hostile towards myself, at one time saying he has no objection to my returning to England provided my presence in that country did not tend to prejudice his suit then carrying on by his Firm against Mr. Mure on account of the Bengal Bank accounts. I do not see what ground he, or his house can attack Mure successfully upon, as full notice was regularly and publicly given of his intention to withdraw himself entirely from the partnership, after the repeated publication of which notice they continued their confidence in, and to have pecuniary transactions with the Bengal Bank, and on inspection of the accounts of the appropriation of their paper, I conceive it must evidently appear that little, if any, of Balfour and Company's paper was out on mortgage when Mr. Mure quitted the firm. But if there was any it was subsequently redeemed and returned to our possession. Beeroo Seal can furnish the best account, as he was the principal negotiator.

Mr. Rider seems to be loading Mure unmercifully and has been the sole cause of involving him in this unjust suit, as I believe I mentioned to you in a former letter. I see no likelihood of effecting my own release and consequently am banished from my nearest and dearest connections. Is there any authentic list of the Creditors? If there be I much wish to see one, and to procure a statement from Mr. Henchman of the account paid and adjusted by the improper mode of transfers, also the sum in hand or to be received. How did our rice concern wind up? I think I shall write to Mr. Rider and enclose it to you to deliver or not, as after perusal you may judge proper.

I am sorry to hear my favourite, the dear Fatty, suffered so much from the unwholesomeness of the Garden house; Chinsurah is the spot on account of its dry soil. You make no mention of your own health; I therefore hope it is mended. On Sunday last, much to my surprise, I met Mr. Skirrow and Mr. Francois, the American at dinner at Mr. Koith's. Skirrow looks very well and is perfectly sane, the latter gentleman was very civil to me, and lamented that he had not pulled Birch by the nose upon the discussion he had with him.

I had heard of Miss Dunkin's marriage with the excellent George Elliot, the best match Bengal has seen for many years.

Alas! poor infatuated Harry Haldane, such injunctions as his are absolutely beyond my comprehension. I did not think the gallant soldier had any other view in his flirtation than the mere folly of dancing attendance and having the honour of being admitted as one of the sighing, admiring train. 'Nahm Kawo-stah.' His continuance with his regiment must be unpleasant and Calcutta itself less agreeable than heretofore from he and his Hookah being forbid Chouringhe. Edward Maxwell, alias Bluebeard, is fattening himself up (no occasion for that, you'll say) at a Pastry cook's shop near the Meuse, though I assure you he was comparatively to the state you knew him in, mere skin and grief at the time he embarked in Mr. Francis's ship.

I shall proceed in this letter when I reach Tournay, so now Good night. God bless you."

"TOURNAY,
1st May,¹

"I arrived here this morning, and learn that the French made an attack upon the Austrians and Prussians at St. Amand, their

¹ Apparently the date should be 8th May (see p. 105).—Ed.

artillery doing great execution ; the battle commenced at eight o'clock in the morning and the firing continued until half-past eight at night. The Coldstream Guards were in the action and in five minutes seventy men belonging to one Company were killed or wounded ! The Brigade of Guards fired with such velocity and charged the enemy so furiously by point of bayonet that they precipitately left the field. Whatever object they had in view was wholly frustrated. It is supposed they wanted to open a communication with Condé, and throw succours into the place. We lost about one hundred men ; fortunately the wounded are mostly recovering ; there was only one officer wounded, Mr. Howard. Lieutenant-Colonel Boswell had a narrow escape, three men on his right being killed, and five on his left ! We shall I fancy have enough to do notwithstanding the French soldiers are raw undisciplined men.

I hope you will duly receive the newspapers and other publications I directed might be forwarded to you. I cannot get rid of the complaint in my bowels, and have reason to suspect it is fixed ; the wine, the beer, the water, are all execrably bad in Flanders, so is their cookery, excepting what I experienced in an English house at Ostend, where I lodged. I cannot conceive the motive for Colin Shakespeare's *good-natured* officiousness, unless he meant it as a return for my lending him money in his distresses, and also prevailing on the Bank to advance him a further sum in order to try his fortune at Dacca in the year 1786.

I am very much vexed at the seizure of the Godowns because I thought that those persons in England who had lent me money to equip myself for going out to India had the fairest claim upon my private property, and that, as they could not come upon the partnership, so the partnership could not come upon my private property until the former were paid.

I have not had a line from David Ross ; where his frequent epistles are gone to I cannot conjecture. Lord Cornwallis's apathy and *sang froid* are very conducive to the admirable health he enjoys ; his right-hand Colonel will have the *embarras des richesses* which his connections in Scotland will be ready enough to relieve him of, for you will find such are the distresses of the commercial men in that country that Mr. Pitt is going to turn pawnbroker and lend five millions of Exchequer Bills on goods belonging to the merchants and manufacturers. The Scotch will get the cash and Mr. Pitt into a scrape ; it is an unwise, impolitic step and cannot be productive of any public good,

though it will be of advantage to certain individuals and John Bull must as usual submit to pay the piper.

My love to Fatty, I hope she has passed a luxurious Tom Tom season at Chinsurah, where you would be in the way to interrupt the soft and enchanting concert. I shall be mortified if she does not receive my present by Captain Hogan. Did I leave a volume of Milton at your house, if I did, pray deliver it to some good man to convey to me, though I had far rather you brought it yourself. We have now got to the 8th of May,¹ and the trees only just showing their buds. Notwithstanding this country has lately been so much distressed by war, it is impossible to conceive one in a higher or better state of cultivation. The French undoubtedly are superior to the English in farming, simply I believe because they are neater. From Courtray to Tournay inequality of ground and an infinite variety of beautiful prospects, much resemble old England.

I must send this off, having just received information that the messenger is preparing to depart, so fare you well. May health and every earthly blessing ever attend you.

Believe me,
Ever most faithfully yours,

B. MUNN."

"Pray remember me kindly to that rough diamond, John Rider, also to my respected Sir William Dunkin and his family."

In the *Sir Stephen Lushington* arrived my *Nassau* shipmate Quicksilver Smith, having been appointed an Assistant-Surgeon on the Bengal Establishment. He had been for a considerable period violently deranged, running about London and committing all sorts of follies and extravagancies, until his friends were at last reduced to the necessity of confining him in one of the private receptacles for lunatics. After remaining there under strict coercion for some time he suddenly recovered, and was restored to society, whereupon Mr. Morland (a distant relation of his), who possessed much influence in the city, got him appointed in the East India Company's service. Unfortunately soon after he reached Calcutta symptoms of his former malady again appeared, probably hastened by the intense heat that

¹ See note p. 103.—ED.

then prevailed. Doctor Hare, who had received him as a guest into his house, going one morning into his bedchamber was utterly confounded at perceiving him sitting before a looking-glass, his shirt being sprinkled over with blood, his throat wounded and bleeding, and a case of surgical instruments laying upon a table close to him, a professional knife belonging thereto in his hand, with which he had in the most scientific manner stripped the skin off great part of his neck. Dr. Hare thereupon instantly seized the knife, which with the rest of the instruments he secured, then speaking to Smith, he eagerly said, "What in God's name are you about, Smith?" "What am I about?" answered Smith, with the utmost composure, "I'll tell you and truly, too. I sat down in this chair before the mirror you here see, determined effectually to let out all my superfluous blood and brains through the same medium, and in short, suppose I say, I considered it wise, nay necessary, to cut my throat. I commenced the operation very properly, but faith 'tis devilish odd, Doctor, that notwithstanding I knew from my own practice how little a snick here, pointing to the large artery at the side of the neck, would do the business in a trice, and that I so ardently long for it to be done, yet by God this vile, dastardly hand of mine refuses to execute my orders and inclination by making the requisite gash. Is not this extremely odd, extremely absurd and equally unaccountable?" Dr. Hare, to this rhapsody, replied: "For shame, Smith, how can you as a reasonable man talk thus profanely, you ought and you do know better. You must feel conscious that you have no right to end your life by suicide." "There you and I differ," interrupted Smith, "for I am clear that I am not bound by any tie, Divine or human, to drag on a hateful existence in an abominable world where I encounter nought but mortifications, vexations, deprivations, and all the rest of the *shons* in the 'alendar! What, Dr. Hare, can you for a moment indulge the grovelling idea that a man of my superior skill, my eminent knowledge in the anatomy of the human frame, as well as in every other branch of surgery, aye, and

of medicine too, brother Doctor, shall submit to practice in the same circle and to act under, under I say, such a set of ignorant scoundrels and blockheads as your Balfours, your Campbells, Dicks, and other moon-struck pretenders, not one of whom is worthy to wipe my lancet or my forceps. Forbid it justice, forbid it reason. No! No! Hare, it cannot, ought not, must not, shall not be."

Dr. Hare, finding him thus wild and incoherent, had him secured and constantly watched, but in a few days he became so obstreperous and so outrageous he was obliged to send him to the insane hospital, where, after being tolerably quiet for a week, he, with all that art and cunning peculiar to lunatics, persuaded the Surgeon, who had the care of the House, that the fit had subsided and that he was once more sane. After conversing very reasonably, he observed it would be right that he should remain some time until his recovery was ascertained, beyond all doubt. "Let me, however," said he, "make myself useful by assisting you in attending your miserable patients and making up their medicine." This he actually did for many days, behaving with so much propriety and shewing such skill that the poor Surgeon was completely deceived, consequently ceased to consider him as a patient, and he was allowed to go wherever he pleased, a liberty he availed himself of to get into his possession a considerable quantity of opium, a certain proportion of which he swallowed, and when he found it beginning to operate he walked into the Surgeon's private apartment and thus addressed him: "Are you not a pretty fellow to preside in a mad house? You! who are as stupidly ignorant as Woolly Dick, and like him deserve to be kicked out of every hospital in Christendom. (He had taken a most extraordinary dislike to Dr. Dick above all other medical men in Bengal, which was the more singular as Dr. Dick possessed first-rate talents in his profession.) Why, you egregious blockhead," continued he, "if you had the wit of a goose you might have read in my eyes, that I was more mad than yourself, and your whole corps united. Look now in my eyes and see

if you cannot discover that at this moment I have in my stomach a *quantum sufficit* of what you have sent many a wretched creature to eternity with, opium, you dog, opium ! which in another hour or thereabouts will rid me of all such vile caitiffs as thee," and he immediately laid violent hands upon the poor doctor who, frightened out of his wits, roared lustily for help. Some attendants directly appearing, Smith was secured in a strait-waistcoat, in two hours after which he was seized with violent convulsions and died.

(Colonel Auchmuty (by the way I believe he spelt his name without the first "u"), whose death I have already mentioned, was a great admirer of poor Jack Smith's, and did him many acts of kindness. This Colonel was a singular character, of whom a number of strange anecdotes were related. With a great share of generosity in his nature, he frequently conducted himself in such a manner as to lead people to suppose him parsimonious and mean to the utmost degree. I will mention two whimsical circumstances that occurred respecting him, both being within my own knowledge. He had in some of his convivial moments invited a large party of gentlemen to dine with him, but on the day appointed, when the Company were actually assembled, he either had forgot or pretended to have forgotten giving any such invitation except I think to two who were present. He therefore bluntly told the rest they were clearly uninvited guests, which being the case, he cared not about the short commons they would find, "For, by Jesus," added he, "not a tooth full will there be for the kit of you, but a leg of mutton and a fair supply for four, not over hungry though, of kid curry." The gentlemen thus rudely accosted were all well acquainted with the Colonel's strange whimsicalities ; they therefore resolved, instead of going off in dudgeon, to stay and plague their strange host by a vigorous attack upon his cellar. With the utmost good-humour they sat down to the scantily provided table, making up for the want of eatables by a frequent application to the wine, so that the Colonel began to curse and swear, exclaiming with his usual strong brogue : "By Jesus, my choice

ones, I am apt to think you have been for some time with out a taste of the true stuff; the Divil burn me, but I belave you imagine yourselves in a wine merchant's cellar of which, though it don't belong to you, you conceive yourselves to be the owners."

The company, disregarding his remark, continued their recourse to the bottle, so much so that their host became outrageous. Upon the servants preparing to remove the dishes and the cloth, he went to the top of the stairs, and with his stentorian lungs roared out, "Shela! my Jewel, why Shela, I say (that being the name he constantly addressed his wife by), take care I say of the spoons and silver forks, count them up carofully, my honoy! for by the holy Jesus we have got some tight boys here to-day"

This uncouth Colonel had three sons in the Company's service, two of them in the civil line, and one in the military. Lord Cornwallis, who always made a point of speaking to every gentleman that attended his weekly Levees, observed to Colonel Auchmuty at one of those Levees, "You must have good friends in Lendenhall Street, Colonel, to get so large a proportion of your family provided for in this part of the world." To which the Colonel replied, "Faith and you may say that, my Lord. By my soule, I had many friends there sure enough, staunch ones too, no fewer than five thousand, my Lord!" Lord Cornwallis looking greatly astonished, the Colonel said, "You seem surprized, my Lord, but it's very true for all that, no fewer, by Jesus, than five thousand, my Lord, all bright shiners! shiners I assure you, my Lord!" accompanying the latter words with the action of his hands as if counting money from one to the other.

Lord Cornwallis, greatly perplexed and annoyed, after a considerable pause said, "Upon my word, Colonel Auchmuty, I do not understand you, your language is perfectly incomprehensible to me." "Auch!" (roared Paddy), "not understand me. That's droll. *Bathershun* (which is Irish for *may be so*). Why, then, my Lord, though I thought I fully explained myself, I'll spake more plain. I gave the

lads of Leadenhall Street five thousand guineas, true sterling, Gold British Guineas, no less nor more, my Lord, for the writerships in Bengal, though they wanted to fob me off with a Madras one, for my two eldest whelps, and so in the generosity of their hearts they threw a Cadetship into the bargain, for my youngest spalpeen ! ” Lord Cornwallis at these words turned upon his heel and abruptly left the Colonel.

Upon Colonel Auchmuty's death the command of the army devolved upon Colonel Charles Morgan, then the next officer on the Gradation List, about a fortnight after which Colonel Popham, who was senior to Colonel Morgan, arrived from England. The army in general were delighted at Colonel Popham's being thus prevented from assuming the Chief Command, not from any personal dislike to the man, but because he was one of those who came from His Majesty's Service at the time the Company were in want of officers, thereby superseding many of the Company's junior officers.

In the month of December I dined with a large party at David Ross's ; after drinking a great deal of wine we adjourned to another room to partake of coffee and tea, in which apartment Mr. Ross and Major Spens were chatting together with their backs leaning against the lower division of the venetians in the window, when the frame, not being properly secured, suddenly yielded from their weight and fell, whereby the two gentlemen were precipitated with it into the courtyard below upon a stone pavement from a height of twenty feet. Mr. Ross was dreadfully bruised, besides dislocating his hip, which rendered him a cripple the remainder of his life. He was from this accident confined more than six months to his bedchamber, having during the first five weeks a great deal of fever. Major Spens was less unfortunate, the only injury he sustained being the breaking of three ribs which confined him for a very short time.

Mr. Macnaghten at this time furnished us with an unanswerable proof of his violence and impetuosity. He had for several days been sadly tormented by toothache, which

at last induced him to send to a Surgeon to come to him and draw it, but the Surgeon happening to be absent when the messenger reached his house, Mr. Macnaghten, upon being informed thereof, in a paroxysm of rage swore he would extract it himself or drive it down his throat. He took up a large carving knife and with the point thereof dreadfully lacerated and hacked his gums, after which he attempted with the handle of the knife to beat out the offending tooth, in doing which he materially injured the lower jaw, producing a severe and dangerous inflammation; so bad did it become that during upwards of four months he had three surgeons in close attendance upon him, they being several times apprehensive of mortification and of a locked jaw, large splinters of bone daily working through the wound. Thus dearly did he pay for his inconsiderate violence. He however ultimately recovered, with only leaving an immense scar on the outside of his neck, which might lead persons unacquainted with the accident to suppose it had been afflicted with what is generally called the King's Evil.

Captain Mitchell of the *William Pitt* and his little squadron, which had been fitted out as vessels of war and sent to cruise against the enemy in the Indian Seas, and generally to protect the British merchant ships, now returned to Calcutta, where the ill-natured part of the public did not scruple to tax the Commanders with having shewn far more attention to their own emolument and advantage than to that of the service they were sent upon. Whether this accusation was well founded or not, is not for me to determine; it is, however, no more than common candour to presume they did their duty, as Captain Mitchell, the other Captains, and all the officers of the Fleet received the thanks of the Governor-General and Council for their zeal and activity during the cruise, and they were all warmly recommended to their Honourable Masters, the Court of Directors, who in consequence of such favourable recommendation voted a considerable sum of money to the said Commanders and officers, and also procured for the senior, Captain Mitchell, the honour of knighthood.

A melancholy accident occurred which occasioned much individual misery and universal sympathy throughout the Settlement. Going one day, as I frequently did, to dine with my valuable friends, Mr. and Mrs. Frushard, who resided about three miles from Calcutta on the opposite side of the river, I there met Mr. and Mrs. Robert Udney, a loving and happy couple, and most respectable people, then recently married. Upon the party's breaking up to return home, I offered to convey Mr. and Mrs. Udney to town in my boat, observing to him that as the night was extremely dark and the tide running rapidly down, the unwieldy Budgerow he was in was not a safe conveyance. Mr. Udney expressed his thanks, but declined my offer, saying his manglee was a remarkably careful and clever fellow who had for many years been used to the river, and with him at the helm there could not be the least danger. He unhappily proved mistaken; upon getting amongst the shipping, and there happened to be a great number laying at anchor, the Budgerow ran foul of one of the cables, instantly upset, filled with water and sunk; at least went beneath the surface of the water. Mr. and Mrs. Udney with three servants that were in the cabin all perished. On the following day the Budgerow drifted ashore a few miles below Calcutta, when the bodies of the unfortunate pair were taken out, and the same evening interred in one grave, the funeral being attended by a great number of sorrowful friends.

After this lamentable disaster poor Mrs. Frushard never invited any person to her house except during moonlight, and often upbraided me for going in dark nights, but in fact in my boat there was comparatively no danger. The crew I had, knew her so perfectly well, they could do what they pleased. I have actually seen them pull her ahead against a stream running at the rate of seven knots, with a fresh contrary wind too. I had such a confidence in them that I never felt the least alarm except when it blew strong, her construction not being at all adapted to encounter a swell or rough water.

CHAPTER VIII

1793-1794-1795

DEATH OF SIR WILLIAM JONES. THE PURCHASE OF
SIR ROBERT CHAMBERS'S MANSION. SIR ROBERT
ABERCROMBIE'S DISASTROUS CAMPAIGN

THE month of May¹ being one of the hottest and most disagreeable in Calcutta, of any in the year, I spent the greater part of it at Chinsurah.

While there I received the distressing news of the death of that upright and invaluable Magistrate, Sir William Jones, by which, of course, a vacancy occurred on the bench of the Supreme Court. The death of this enlightened and very learned man was properly felt to be a public calamity. The event was equally lamented by the natives as by Europeans, for all felt and acknowledged his extraordinary talents and his unblemished integrity as a Judge. Luckily his lady had left India (from the climate not agreeing with her) previous to the melancholy event. Had she been upon the spot, such was the nature of her attachment to her husband, that in all probability the being present at his last moments would have proved fatal to herself. She was the daughter of Dr. Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, and is, I believe, still living. My absence from the Presidency prevented my being at Sir William's funeral, which was attended by nearly the whole of the Settlement. He died after only a few hours' illness, and was, according to the custom of India (from necessity, the bodies becoming almost immediately offensive), buried the same day.

Early in June another disaster occurred, that distressed us all very much. This was the loss of the *Nancy* packet

¹ The author is apparently still dealing with 1793.—ED
IV.—1

which arrived in Balasore roads from England after a remarkably fine passage. It being the boisterous season there was no pilot in attendance, they always skulking from bad weather. The Commander of the packet, having dispatches on board for Government which he knew to be of great importance, was naturally exceedingly anxious that they should be delivered as early as possible; he therefore sent off his yawl with an officer and six hands in search of a pilot. This boat, when just entering the river Hooghley, in a sudden and violent gust of wind, unfortunately upset, whereby the officer and four of the men were drowned, the other two being preserved by a pariah sloop that happened to be close by at the time, also bound upward. Upon this sloop's reaching Calcutta, pilot schooners were instantly dispatched. They went into the roads, cruising about for many days in search of the *Nancy*, but could gain no tidings of her, nor was she ever afterwards heard of. The general opinion was that she foundered, while laying at anchor in Balasore roads.

The *Thetis*, Indiaman, which arrived in July, brought out a great importation of new ladies, the whole of them dressed in a style that appeared to us Goths as unbecoming as preposterous. This was the no-waist system, from adopting which every girl appeared to be big with child. The importation above mentioned consisted of Lady Shore, with one daughter about thirteen years of age, five daughters of Sir Charles Blunt, and the same number of General Brisco's: all very fine, showy, and dashing women. With the single exception of the eldest Miss Blunt, they all shortly after arrival married very advantageously. Miss Blunt had a profusion of suitors and many offers, but capriciously, as it was deemed, refused them all. After residing a few seasons in Bengal, she returned to England still a spinster, but had not been long at home before she married Mr. Imhoff, one of Mrs. Hastings's sons by her German husband.

The *Thetis* on her outward-bound passage put into the Cape of Good Hope, where the female passengers being at

a dance, a Dutch gentleman who was present, exceedingly struck by their appearance, very emphatically and feelingly exclaimed, "Ah! God help their poor parents, how miserable must they be upon perceiving the situation their daughters are in!" Captain Bullock, the commander of the *Thetis*, who was near the Dutchman when he made this speech, and conjecturing the error he had fallen into, immediately enquired the occasion of it, observing he did not think the young ladies' parents could have any reasonable cause of uneasiness about them. "Mein God," exclaimed Mynheer very earnestly, "no reasonable cause of uneasiness, is it not apparent they are all with *child*!" This created much laughter and mirth, but it was not without considerable difficulty the Dutchman was persuaded his suspicions were unfounded, the appearance arising entirely from the fashion of the dress.

I continued my weekly visits to Chinsurah, where my favourite Jemdance resided almost entirely. Her health had materially declined, so much so that for several months I was seriously alarmed, as without any ascertainable or fixed disease she suddenly and rapidly fell away, lost her appetite and her spirits, and seemed to me to be in a quick decline. Conceiving the situation of the house she inhabited might be the cause, I twice changed, and towards the close of the year had the pleasure to see her perfectly restored to health, and once more become fat and cheerful.

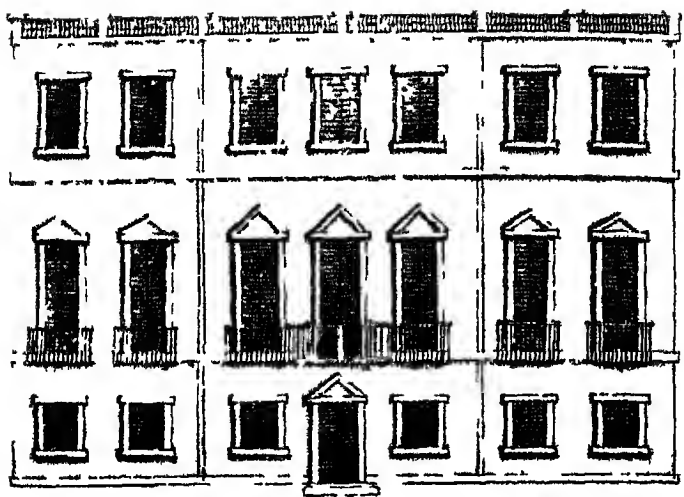
In December Mr. Levi Ball (brother to the then Captain in the Navy who afterwards became Sir Alexander Ball, and an Admiral) being appointed Sheriff for the ensuing year (1794) he kindly nominated me to be his Deputy, the duties of which office required much of my personal attendance: consequently my excursions to Chinsurah were less frequent; I, however, generally contrived to spend part of Saturday and the whole of Sunday there in the company of my lively girl. From my being so much less there than formerly, she complained of the immense size of the house she inhabited, wishing to have a smaller; to gratify her therefore I hired one upon a more limited scale, at the

entrance of the town, and part of it projecting over the river Hooghley. Upon the top of this mansion I built a bungalow, which from its elevated situation was one of the coolest bedchambers in Bengal. Slight as was the construction of this room it cost me upwards of one thousand sicca rupees building. Jemdanee was highly delighted with it.

My family letters now informed me of the death of Mr. Richard Burke, Recorder of Bristol, and only brother of Edmund Burke; he died suddenly at his chambers in Lincoln's Inn, sincerely lamented by his family and by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

At this period we received an account of the capture of the *Pigot*, Indiaman, in Bencoolen roads by two French frigates. The enemy availing themselves of our unprotected state in point of ships of war, made sad havoc amongst the British merchant vessels.

The landlord of my Calcutta house, whose name was Robertson, of a Portuguese family (but who had a brother that commanded one of the Company's ships who from his dark complexion and peculiar features was distinguished in the service by the title of "Malay Robertson"), having exacted from me considerably more rent than the premises I held of him were considered worth, or than any person except myself would submit to pay, my friends frequently upbraided me with the folly of submitting to be imposed upon by allowing an unconscionable charge. I therefore called upon Robertson for an abatement, but at the same time, after remarking the advantage that attended having a fixed and permanent tenant, I offered to pay him four hundred sicca rupees per month for the house, so long as I should continue in India, or until my death. The rent I had previously paid was four hundred and fifty sicca rupees monthly. Robertson in his answer admitted I had during eleven years been a most excellent tenant of his by regularly discharging the rent on the first of every month; but still he could not afford to lower the rent from the immense sum he had disbursed in finishing the building in



THE AUTHOR'S HOUSE IN CALCUTTA LEASED FROM
SIR ROBERT CHAMBERS



THE SAME HOUSE AFTER THE AUTHOR'S ADDITION OF A VERANDAH

a most superb manner, and which he had done purely to gratify me. Robertson appearing determined not to lower his rent, I resolved to look out for another residence, and in March following closed with Sir Robert Chambers the Chief Justice, for his elegant mansion built by Mr. Thomas Lyon, out of the very best materials. It had to me, as an officer of the Court, the great advantage of being situated immediately behind the Court House, with which it had a door of communication, so that I could at any time when my presence was required either in Court or in the Sheriff's office be there in two minutes from my own apartment. This capital house which was certainly one of the best in Calcutta, I took upon lease for five years at four hundred and fifty sicca rupees a month, I being bound to keep it in tenantable repair. Upon the first of April (1794) I entered upon it, to the great disappointment of my former landlord, Robertson, who had no idea I would ever leave him. When convinced in his own mind that I really intended it, he expressed his unfeigned concern, offering to let me have the house at four hundred rupees a month, but it was then too late. Underneath are two sketches of the southern front of Sir Robert Chambers's house, one as it was at the time I entered upon it, the other after I had erected the verandah I am about to speak of.¹

I had not occupied the house a week when I discovered what an amazing improvement a verandah to the southward would be. After conversing with two or three persons conversant with such matters, I procured from a Bengallee architect a plan and estimate for one from the bottom to the top of the house. This I sent to Sir Robert Chambers with a proposal that I would pay one-half of the expence if he would defray the other. After deliberating upon the thing for several days he returned me an answer which literally filled² sheets and a half of paper! It was worded in his usual argumentative and verbose style. What rendered it the more extraordinary was that he

¹ These two sketches are reproduced in the plate facing this page.—Ed.

² The author has omitted the number.—Ed.

commenced by acceding to my proposal, that is, to pay half the estimate, but no more ! cautiously observing that if the work when finished, should exceed the amount specified in the estimate, I must make up that deficiency whatever it amounted to. Having thus decidedly stated his determination and briefly enough, any other person than himself would have been content, but he then proceeds to give a most elaborate and decided opinion against verandahs in general, which instead of being of the least advantage to a house, he considered quite the contrary, and this notion he endeavoured to support though with the utmost degree of sophistry. Having thus occupied near fourteen sides of paper, he concluded thus strangely,—“ And now, sir, give me leave to add, that notwithstanding all I have said upon the subject, I have not the least doubt but everybody will agree with you in thinking the house very much improved by a verandah.”

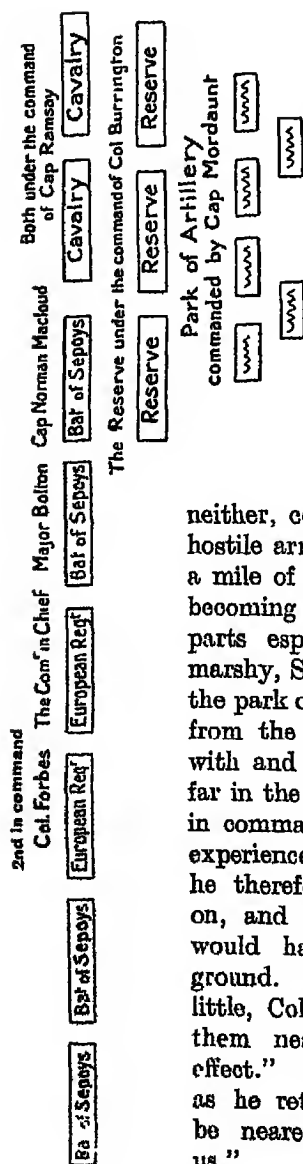
So much for the consistency of the learned Judge, Sir Robert Chambers. In one point, however, he shewed that he had all his wits about him ; I mean his so cautiously making me responsible for any overplus beyond the estimate, he being aware that no work was ever executed strictly within the terms delivered in by a builder, a circumstance that never occurred to my mind. By this superior knowledge of his, he saddled me with an additional charge of fifteen hundred sicca rupees. The estimate by which he was bound, was only nine thousand sicca rupees, whereas the erection when completed cost upwards of ten thousand five hundred ; thus I paid six thousand and odd rupees, while he advanced no more than four thousand five hundred. This difference arose from the person I employed omitting to insert in his estimate the expence of the railing between the pillars upon each storey, also the cutting down the windows to the terraco and the painting the new work. When it was finished it was a handsome and certainly a most comfortable habitation. I furnished it in a splendid manner.

Our Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Abercrombie, deter-

mined as soon as the rains set in this season to visit the whole of the military stations attached to the Presidency of Bengal. Accordingly towards the end of June, attended by the whole of his staff, he left Calcutta for the purpose. His departure from the Presidency was much regretted by all ranks of persons, he having rendered himself extremely popular by his general suavity of manners and affability.

About three weeks after Sir Robert Abercrombie left Calcutta, a native Prince whose territories were contiguous to the Company's frontiers, and who had long been a faithful ally of ours, departed this life, leaving two sons, the elder of whom who was also greatly attached to the English, ought to have succeeded to his father's dominions, but as is frequently the case in Asia, his younger brother, being an aspiring and daring character, formed a conspiracy against his elder brother, caused him to be murdered and then usurped the throne of his deceased parent. The Prince thus sacrificed left several children, whose rights the British Government thought it necessary to support. Orders were therefore sent to Sir Robert Abercrombie to place the oldest boy in the situation his murdered father ought to have been. Thus was the General's intended excursion of mere form and pleasure turned into what proved a very serious and bloody campaign. The usurper, being a man of very splendid talents, and a great favourite with his soldiers, prepared to defend himself, for which purpose he collected together an army of eighteen thousand men, headed them in person, and marched to meet the British.

Sir Robert Abercrombie's force consisted of no more than seven thousand five hundred, but they were some of the finest and best disciplined Battalions in the Company's service, and commanded by experienced and able officers. By the beginning of October Sir Robert Abercrombie, with his select and brave little band, had penetrated far into the Rohilla country. On the 26th at daylight the enemy made their appearance upon high land in front of the British Army, a body of horse consisting of nearly five thousand being considerably in advance of their infantry, and moving on



in the most perfect order and regularity, evidently intending to attack us. The English force thereupon halted, and formed thus :

When the enemy were first seen they were distant about five miles. The British line being formed, Sir Robert Abercrombie ordered them to advance with a quick step. This he did under an idea that the enemy upon seeing such a movement would immediately halt, if not retreat. He was however mistaken ; they did

neither, continuing to advance. When the hostile armies were within little more than a mile of each other, the ground suddenly becoming very rough, uneven, and in some parts especially to the left of the line, marshy, Sir Robert ordered a halt, to give the park of Artillery time to come up, which from the rapidity the line had advanced with and the badness of the ground, were far in the rear. Colonel Forbes, the second in command, an officer of great skill and experience, highly disapproved of this halt ; he therefore urged the General to move on, and meet the enemy, who otherwise would have the advantage of a rising ground. The General answered : "Stay a little, Colonel, stay a little, we shall have them nearer to us and act with more effect." "Yes," replied Colonel Forbes, as he returned to his station, "they will be nearer, for by God they'll be upon us."

A few minutes more brought the enemy within random shot, upon which the General sent off an aide-de-camp to Captain Mordaunt, who commanded the artillery, to desire he would bring up the guns with all possible dispatch. At that instant, Captain Ramsay, who commanded the two regiments of native Cavalry stationed upon the right of the British line, most unaccountably and injudiciously ordered them to wheel to the left, which strange manœuvre produced the most fatal consequences, for it threw two of the finest Battalions of Sepoys in the Company's service, commanded too by most able officers, Major Bolton and Captain Norman Macleod, into confusion, which was increased by our Cavalry instead of endeavouring to rectify the error they had committed, actually galloping through the Battalions they had thus broken, going off full speed. The enemy, observing what had occurred, directly charged with their horse, cutting down our men almost without resistance. The European Regiment, next to Major Bolton's, seeing the right wing thus completely routed, and the enemy making the most dreadful havoc with their sabres, stood inactive, as if panic struck. A body of about three thousand of the enemy's cavalry did all the mischief. Having almost annihilated Bolton's and Macleod's Battalions, they next rushed upon the reserve, whom they entirely dispersed and then attacked the Artillery cutting down the men at the guns. Colonel Burrington was killed, as was Captain Mordaunt and two subaltern officers under him.

This column of the enemy then, as if satisfied with blood, slowly and sullenly drew off to their main army. Never was anything like the ferocity of their attack known. They appeared absolutely desperate and perfectly indifferent about sacrificing their own lives, for notwithstanding a most tremendous fire kept up by the Artillery, they rode up to the very mouths of the cannon, there sabreing the men who were working them, but in effecting their object, upwards of five hundred were slain. Their rancour against the European officers and soldiers was unparalleled: so far did the spirit of hatred carry them, that when

anyone fell, they dismounted to cut off the head, which they galloped off with as a trophy. A more dreadful carnage never happened, and for the two hours that it continued, the fate of the whole army, indeed of the East India Company itself, hung by a thread. Happily, though unknown to both armies, there was a deep morass in front of the left of the British line, but covered over by strong rushes and long grass; this proved fatal to a vast number of the enemy who in advancing to attack our troops fell into it, where they were either smothered in the mud or killed by our musketry. But for this fortunate circumstance, in all probability not a soldier of the British Army would have escaped.

Upon a general muster it was ascertained that upwards of two thousand five hundred Europeans and Sepoys were killed or wounded, the loss in officers of distinguished merit being particularly severe. The names of those killed were Major Bolton, commanding the Eleventh Battalion of Sepoys, Captain Norman Macleod of the Thirteenth, Lieutenants William Hincksman, J. Plumer, Joseph Richardson, William Odell, and A. Cuming, all of Sepoy Corps, Captain Mawbey and Lieutenant Birch of the European Regiment, Lieutenant Wells, Brigade Major, Colonel Burrington who commanded the Reserve, Captain Mordaunt, with Lieutenants Baker and Tolfair of the Artillery.

Among the wounded were Captain Bruce, aide-de-camp to Colonel Burrington, who was covered with wounds, appearing to be almost cut to pieces, but who nevertheless most miraculously recovered, Lieutenant Lewis Thomas, Adjutant to Macleod's Battalion, and the only officer of the Corps that survived, John Richardson, A. Macleod, R. Adams, George Brietzke, and J. P. Pigot.

The conduct of Sir Robert Abercrombie in this sad affair was universally censured, especially by the military who were exceedingly clamorous, several of them in the most public manner accusing him with having betrayed the most unpardonable ignorance, and by his disgraceful mistakes having been the cause of the death of so many brave men!

It has often struck me as a most remarkable circumstance, that so grievous a misfortune should have occurred in which so great a number of private soldiers, with fourteen British officers (for I have not noticed the native officers of the two battalions that perished), were killed, and seven other officers dreadfully wounded, should pass over totally unnoticed in Europe, without a syllable's appearing on the subject in any one of the public prints. The prevalent opinion was that the silence of the Editors had been purchased by the friends of Sir Robert Abercrombie.

Captain Ramsay—to whom the whole of the misfortune might fairly be attributed—had thencefore been considered as an officer of the highest military character. He had distinguished himself in many different hard-fought battles, nor could his conduct upon the last occasion be any other-wise accounted for than that in all his preceding campaigns, he was a poor man, without a guinea before the world, whereas at the time of the Rohilla conflict he possessed a handsome fortune! He had been a universal favourite with those he served with, from his peculiarly conciliatory and pleasing manners.

The morning after the foregoing disgraceful business he sent in a written resignation of the command of his Regiment to Sir Robert Abercrombie, at the same time requesting permission to resign the Company's service altogether. The General accepted the resignation of the Regiment, sending word that he should communicate his other request to Government, which he presumed would meet his wishes. The Governor-General in Council, however, was so indignant upon the facts being laid before them, that he without hesitation declared his opinion to be that Captain Ramsay was either a traitor to his Country, or a coward, perhaps both, and instead of accepting his offered resignation of the service he ordered him to be put under a close arrest, preparatory to his being tried by a court martial.

But this was an ordeal the Captain did not think it prudent to go through: he secretly made his escape. Availing himself of his knowledge in the Oriental languages,

he put on the dress of a Fouquir, and in that disguise (as was generally supposed) passed into the Mahratta country, from whence he got to Goa, the principal settlement of the Portuguese upon the coast of Malabar, there embarking for Europe. Two years afterwards he was seen and recognized in Scotland, where he was residing under a feigned name. The defence he set up for himself to his immediate friends was that he received the order to wheel the two Regiments of Cavalry he commanded to the right (*sic*) from Colonel Burrington, by his aide-de camp, Captain Bruce. But when he asserted this he knew that Colonel Burrington was dead, and supposed that Captain Bruce was mortally wounded, and would never be able to contradict what he asserted. There, however, he proved mistaken. Captain Bruce, though to the astonishment of the surgeons that attended him, not only did survive but perfectly recovered and lived to command the very Regiment he (Ramsay) had so disgraced himself at the head of. Captain Bruce upon his recovery being told what Ramsay had said, most positively and unequivocally denied his ever having received any such order from Colonel Burrington, and that he had conveyed that or any other order or message whatsoever to Captain Ramsay on the day of the battle, or even exchanged a single word with him on that day.

In a fortnight after the above fatal conflict, a disgraceful and shameful peace was concluded with the Rohillas, upon which event a gentleman of high rank in the Company's Civil Service wrote to me thus: "And so has ended this bloody, ill-conducted campaign as disgraceful to the British General in his diplomatic as in his military character."

In December I received a letter from a correspondent in Madras, mentioning the death of Mr. Floyer's son, a very accomplished and elegant young man who fell in a duel with Mr. Roebuck. The latter gentleman having spoken disrespectfully of Mr. Floyer, Senior, and what he had said coming to the ears of his son, he called Mr. Roebuck out, and unfortunately fell dead from his adversary's first fire.

In the middle of the year 1795 I heard of the death of

Mr. Richard Burke, the only child of Mr. Edmund Burke, who was so wrapped up in this son that his premature death laid the foundation of his own ; he certainly lingered through two years after the event, but in the most dejected and deplorable state.

About this time I had a violent attack of erysipelas in my leg which confined me for several days to my room in extreme agony. This complaint in India is considered in the same light as an apoplectic fit is in England, that is, as warning that dissolution is not far off.

Sir Robert Abercrombie returned to the Presidency from his disastrous Rohilla campaign. Upon his arrival at Calcutta he gave ten thousand rupees to be distributed among the widows and children of the private soldiers and sepoy who fell in the fatal business of the preceding October, a liberality that gained him great popularity.

My friend Mr. Prendergast, who had left Dacca and been for some time settled at Lucknow where he carried on very extensive dealings as a merchant, got into an unpleasant dispute with Mr. Paull, a resident of the same place (which Mr. Paull has since made himself so conspicuous not only by his attack upon the public conduct of Lord Wellesley while Governor-General of India, in the House of Commons, but also from his coming forward as a candidate to represent the City of Westminster in Parliament, and his fighting a duel with that troublesome patriot Sir Francis Burdett). This gentleman conceiving himself insulted in a large company by Mr. Prendergast on the following morning sent him a challenge, which Mr. Prendergast declined accepting, alleging that he (Paull) was the son of a tailor, and therefore not entitled to call for or expect satisfaction which was the peculiar right of gentlemen only. This refusal being discussed at Lucknow, the gentlemen of that station were unanimously of opinion that such a plea was inadmissible, as Mr. Paull, no matter in what line of life his father was, had been received and treated everywhere as upon a footing of equality with the rest of the society of Lucknow, and had been often so received by Mr. Prendergast himself, that such

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a reason therefore for refusing him satisfaction for a real or a supposed injury ought not to have been given. Upon this opinion being communicated to Mr. Prendergast he instantly wrote to Mr. Paull to say that notwithstanding his sentiments remained unaltered, he had no objections to yielding to the opinions of society and would consequently meet him when and where he pleased. They went out together the next morning, when Mr. Paull received a wound that confined him to his house for many weeks.

In May, Sir John Richardson, the heavy-headed barrister I have already spoken of, fell a martyr to one of those fevers very common in Bengal, the less surprizing however to him who was upwards of sixty years of age. He was the reputed compiler of the Persian Dictionary published under his name, though those who were conversant with the language asserted that there was nothing original on the part of Richardson, the whole having been stolen from Meninski. Sir John came as he gave out, under a *verbal* promise from the Court of Directors that he should succeed Mr. Davies in the situation of Advocate-General, a promise if they really did make was probably done without any intention of fulfilling it, and merely to get rid of his troublesome importunities. The Governor-General, however, felt for the predicament the poor Scotchman stood in, and understanding that his talents as a lawyer were not likely to procure him bread, generously and unasked, appointed him a Justice of the Peace, to which a very handsome salary was annexed. His right to the title of *Sir* was of a somewhat doubtful nature; he assumed it some time after his arrival in India, upon hearing of the death of his elder brother, who undoubtedly had succeeded to a baronetage, but who, it was equally certain, left two legitimate sons. This Baronet was the man who commanded the *Pigot*, Indiaman, at the time of my first voyage.

Being confined to my room by severe illness I was one morning told by my Jemadar that Sir William Dunkin was below stairs and wished to speak to me on particular business. Directly ordering that he might be admitted to my

bedchamber, I found his visit was made in order to communicate to me the sad tidings of my much-loved and honoured father's death, who, he informed me, had died suddenly on the 12th of the preceding month of August, at the advanced age of eighty-three, and without the slightest previous indisposition. On the day preceding the night in which he breathed his last, his old friends, Mr. William Burke, General Tadwell Watson of the Guards, and Admiral Thomas Mackenzie, had dined with him, and all remarked how uncommonly hale and strong he was, to which he replied that he undoubtedly had reached a great age, and although then quite well he did not think he should remain much longer amongst them. General Watson thereupon observed he was going abroad, for at least a twelve-month, and had not the least doubt but upon his return he should find him just as at that moment. To this my father answered, "Indeed, Watson, you will not, for I shall be no more." He retired to bed at his usual hour, about half-past eleven. At seven the following morning, his servant, surprized he had not rung his bell, having always been a remarkably early riser, went into his room and opened the window shutters when, looking at the bed, he observed my father, as he thought in a profound sleep. Not choosing to disturb him, he gently left the apartment. At half-past eight, apprehending his master must be ill from the lateness of the hour, he returned to the bedchamber, and saw his master in exactly the same position he had before left him. Approaching the bed, he put his hand upon his forehead which he found cold; whereupon taking hold of one of the hands he ascertained that life had fled.

Thus, without a pang, did my lamented parent leave the world. Subsequent letters which I received from my sisters, stated that after death his countenance was as serene and unchanged as if in a gentle slumber. Never did there exist a fonder or more affectionate father than he was to me; in fact, he had always been too partially so. Too true it is that throughout my life, but especially in the early part of it, I made a most ungracious return for all his indulgent

kindnesses, by thwarting and counteracting all his plans for my future well-doing and success in life. Having always lived expensively and up to the full amount of his income, he left scarce any property behind him. A few years prior to his death he sold the house in St. Alban's Street, and went to reside in one belonging to my sister Mary in Argyle Street.

In October, 1795, I received an account of another domestic misfortune, the death of my above-named sister Mary, who had been attacked by palsy and after miserably lingering for several months in that deplorable state, breathed her last at Beaconsfield, her remains being conveyed to Twickenham Churchyard and there deposited in the same vault with father and mother—a more affectionate and warm-hearted sister no man ever had, and most truly did I grieve at her death, but alas! these afflictions being the common lot of mankind must and ought to be submitted to with becoming fortitude and resignation.

Towards Christmas Mrs. Elliot, who continued in the most dejected state from the loss of her respected and valuable husband, determined to quit the country and return to Europe, for which purpose she agreed for a passage on board the *Lady Meadows*, commanded by Captain Lloyd, and in the month of January, 1796, sailed from Bengal, taking under her charge the two eldest children of her sister, Mrs. Macnaghten.

CHAPTER IX

1796

FRENCH PRIVATEERING. DEATH OF MR. JUSTICE
HYDE. A DISTRESSING SCENE IN COURT. LAST
LETTERS FROM MR. CANE AND MR. MEE

THE beginning of this year Mr. Jonathan Duncan, who was originally a Civil Servant of the Company's upon their Bengal Establishment, was through the interest and strong recommendation of Lord Cornwallis appointed Governor of Bombay, for which Settlement he took his departure. The partiality of Lord Cornwallis to Mr. Duncan occasioned general astonishment: almost every person who knew that gentleman considering him a heavy, dull man, without a particle of genius; nevertheless Lord Cornwallis from his first acquaintance spoke of him as possessing most brilliant talents, with indefatigable attention to his duty, and incorruptible integrity; to which favourable opinion of his Lordship's he was clearly indebted for his Government.

After the return of Commodore Mitchell's squadron to Bengal, the French privateers renewed their depredations against our trade, doing much mischief. So daring and impudent were they, that a dirty little pariah sloop with only three small guns came to the mouth of the river Hooghley, there capturing two of the Company's pilot schooners which had considered themselves out of all danger. About the same time, too, a party of French prisoners, fourteen in number, who, from being officers, were permitted to be upon their *parole d'honneur*, consequently at perfect liberty, residing, however, from their own choice, at Chandernagore, unmindful of their engagement broke faith, hired a Budge-

row for the avowed purpose of going up the river, for the benefit of the healths of some of them who were stated to be indisposed, but instead of proceeding upward took a contrary course, making directly towards the sea. When off Kedgerree, they saw the *Gillett*, a fine new pilot schooner, which had only been launched a few weeks, laying at an anchor. The weather being extremely mild and pleasant they ran close to her, when one of the Frenchmen who spoke admirable English, hailed saying they were bound to Beereool for the benefit of the health of an invalid family, that having had rather a long passage from Caloutta they were short of rice, and should be glad to purchase a couple of bags. The mate in command of the schooner, not having the most distant suspicion of an enemy, and seeing a very respectable-looking woman with a young child in her arms, sitting upon the deck with two or three native servants about her, very civilly answered that he had no rice for sale, but if they would come alongside they should have as much as they pleased and any other articles in his power to supply. The Frenchmen accordingly ran their Budgerow alongside, making fast to the schooner into which two of the Frenchmen entered. The mate hospitably invited them to the cabin, and while he was below offering refreshment to his treacherous guests, the other twelve jumped from the Budgerow without the least difficulty or resistance from the schooner's crew, which consisted only of sixteen Lascars, took possession of the vessel. The rascally Frenchmen then compelled the Lascars, except three, together with the master, to go into the Budgerow, keeping the three Lascars to help to navigate the vessel, and the European mate to pilot her out to sea; after doing this, they ordered the Budgerow to row towards the land, threatening to sink her if she stood any other way, and told the mate to conduct them over the sands, assuring him if he did he should be handsomely rewarded and allowed to return; but if he ran them into danger his life should be the sacrifice. They thus carried off a noble vessel, safely reaching the Isle of France, where she was immediately fitted out as a powerful

privateer, and proved but too successful. The French, contrary to their usual system, kept their promise to the mate, by paying him very liberally and taking the opportunity of a Danish ship sailing for Bengal to put him on board as a passenger, giving the Captain a handsome sum for his passage, and laying in ample provision for him on the voyage.

Confident hopes were entertained that a stop would be put to the French privateers annoying our trade upon Admiral Elphinstone's arrival in Madras, yet the enemy contrived to elude the vigilance of that gallant officer, two out of every three ships that ventured to sea being captured.

The state of the Company's army in Bengal became at this time truly alarming, the conduct of a large proportion of the officers being very little short of open and declared mutiny. Colonel Fullarton, who commanded at the station of Chunar, sent an express down to the Presidency to inform the Governor-General and Council that the officers at every post under his sway peremptorily refused to obey any public order he issued until their grievances should be redressed, and made no scruple of adding that if such was not soon done they were determined to redress themselves. In consequence of this very alarming representation the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Abercrombie, was immediately sent off by Dawk with directions to use his utmost influence to pacify the insurgents at Berhampoor, and all the other military stations, and to assure them that regulations were daily expected from England that would give them all the rights they claimed. Such were the apprehensions of the Government upon this occasion, that the Corps of Artillery which had remained steady and firm in their allegiance and their duty, and might therefore be confidently relied on, were forthwith ordered into Garrison at Fort William, from Dum Dum where they were in cantonments, for the purpose of carrying on the annual Field Practice. The Calcutta Militia were likewise embodied in all haste, being ordered to hold themselves in constant readiness for actual service. A general panic prevailed

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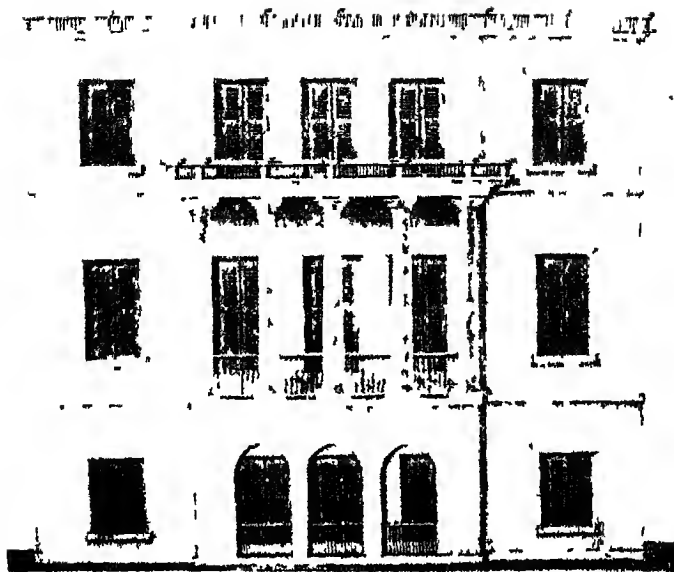
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amongst the inhabitants of Calcutta, both black and white, which was visible in the dejected countenances of many.

Upon Sir Robert Abercrombie's arrival at Berhampoor, the officers, one and all, refused to receive or treat with him, saying they had been so repeatedly deceived by promises and smooth words that they never would lay down their arms until their many and flagrant wrongs were redressed. They were actually preparing to march at the head of the troops who were under the control of the officers, to Calcutta, when happily, at that awful and important crisis, the ship *Camilla* arrived from Europe, bringing out the heads of various regulations for the advantage of the army, particularly one by which a Brevet rank was given to the Company's officers, putting them on a footing with the King's officers according to the date of their respective commissions, which would prevent all future jealousies and animosities from a clashing of interests, and certainly thentofore it had been extremely cruel and unjust, that the youngest Lieutenant (and so with every other rank) in His Majesty's service was upon all occasions to command the oldest of the Company's. There had many instances occurred of men who had been five-and-twenty years in the Company's army and gone through very severe service, being superceded in their command by boys who had not held their Commissions as many weeks, and never had seen a gun fired at an enemy. This measure being directly put in force, order was restored without further violence or mischief.

Finding my health so precarious as to render my existence from month to month very doubtful, and being desirous of making some sort of provision for my favourite Jemdanee, I resolved to build a comfortable habitation for her, and as she entreated that it might be at Chinsurah, I purchased a piece of ground at that place, in a delightful situation, being within a hundred yards of the river, and on the skirts of a beautiful park, in which the Dutch Governor's mansion was. I applied to the same native Architect that erected the verandah in Calcutta, to furnish me with plans. He accordingly gave me three different drawings; I adopted



THE HOUSE BUILT BY THE AUTHOR AT CHINSURAH



THE HICKEY MONUMENT IN TWICKENHAM CHURCHYARD

the one that most resembled my town residence, though upon a much smaller scale, it was three stories in height. Underneath is a sketch of the south front, as finished.¹ The foundation was laid on the 1st of January, 1796, and on the 15th of the following June, to the inexpressible surprize of the inhabitants of Chinsurah, I slept in it completed; but as I had supplied Aumeen, which was the builder's name, with cash whenever he required it, he employed a great number of workmen, executing the job in a very masterly and capital style. This building, including furniture, did not cost me less than forty thousand sicca rupees.

In the month of April Jemdanee announced to me that she was in a family way, expressing her earnest desire that it might prove "a chuta William Sahab."

Mr. John Shaw, whom I have frequently mentioned, was in the way of making a rapid fortune in his profession, when he unfortunately embarked in a speculation of vast magnitude, that of monopolizing the trade in spices to the East Coast; this being a business that was prohibited by the Company, he was obliged to carry it on in a secret and clandestine manner, and to expose himself to much fraud and robbery by the Commanders of the ships he necessarily employed. Mr. Frushard, the person who led him into this scheme, undertook the chief management, being supplied with cash for the purpose of carrying it on by Nemychurn Mullick, one of the most opulent natives in Bengal, and an uncommonly clever man. Soon after they had embarked in this plan, so sanguine was Mr. Shaw in his notions respecting it, that he used amongst his friends and indeed everywhere to speak of success as certain, and that the parties interested must acquire unbounded wealth, even to the amount of millions! Nor is it impossible nor improbable that such might have been the case, had not a Dutch war broke out, owing to the decided partiality the Hollanders shewed to French politics, and French principles, which were so evident as to call down the vengeance of Great

¹ See reproduction of sketch facing this page.—Ed.

Britain upon that deluded people. In consequence of this war, the English ships of war immediately took possession of all the Dutch Islands in the East Indies. Mr. Shaw's ships and cargoes of spices on board were taken possession of in all directions, and after an expensive and unsuccessful struggle for two years, my poor friend was reduced to a state of absolute bankruptcy.

The Supreme Court and the society of Calcutta in general was now upon the eve of sustaining an irreparable loss in the excellent Mr. Justice Hyde, whose health so rapidly declined that the medical men gave no hopes of his surviving long, indeed it was too apparent that he was sinking fast into the grave. Almost in the last stage of his illness Sir James Watson arrived from England, having been appointed to the Bench to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of that eminent scholar, Sir William Jones, a wretched substitute indeed, of which some persons in England seemed fully aware. Upon Sir James Watson's being nominated, a number of squibs and epigrams appeared in the public newspapers, of which the following seemed to me the most pointed and severe.

“ At Folly's freaks oft times surprized we stare,
A Banks succeeding to great Newton's Chair!
Reynolds whom Genius with the Graces blest,
Succeeded by that sweet Hist'ry painter West.
Now comes the wildest freak that folly owns,
Viz. Sergeant Watson, post Sir William Jones ! ! ! ”

Sir James Watson, about three weeks after his arrival, not liking the house he inhabited, purchased a very excellent one at Chouringee, the removing into which terminated his mortal career. Like many other opiated new-comers, he affected to hold in contempt the prevalent and justly formed notion that the sun was peculiarly injurious in Bengal, avowing that he had no doubt but any man might go out in it, without more detriment than in other hot countries, and this he put into practice, exposing himself to its burning rays several hours superintending the loading of the hackerys that were transporting his furniture from

one house to the other. The consequence of this was that on the second day he had done so, at the time of dinner when his family were just sitting down, he said he felt rather uncomfortable, with a great degree of giddiness; instead, therefore, of taking his seat at table, he lay down upon a sofa in the same room, and before sufficient time elapsed to summon medical assistance, he breathed his last. The next afternoon every person belonging to the Supreme Court as well as many of the principal gentlemen of the Settlement followed his corpse to the grave. Thus did he sacrifice his life to a ridiculous piece of obstinacy.

In the early part of the following month, the Honourable Mr. Justice Hyde departed this life universally regretted by *all ranks of people*. A *more upright and benevolent man* never lived, his death leaving scores of poor persons whom he had long supplied with food, raiment and money grievously to bewail the loss of their generous patron. In the last stage of his existence a circumstance occurred that strongly marked the total want of feeling of Sir Robert Chambers. A cause had been tried some months before respecting the legal title to a large spot of ground, consisting of near one hundred begahs in the centre of the European part of Calcutta upon which a Bazaar or general market, not only for butcher's meat, but every other article of provisions, was erected. As this was deemed a great nuisance from being in the immediate vicinity of some of the best houses in the town, the proprietors thereof opposed with all their influence its being carried into execution, but the superior weight of interest of Sir Robert Chambers prevailed and the Bazaar was built. This, however, did not prevent a person who had been forcibly turned out of a large proportion of the ground in question, and without receiving any equivalent for it, from bringing the action before alluded to for the purpose of proving his claim thereto.

The fact of Sir Robert Chambers's holding a large share in the said new Bazaar was notorious, and known to every-

body ; it consequently was considered as extremely indecorous in him to have presided at the trial of the Cause, and still more so to botray the evident and disgraceful partiality he had done during such trial. Although almost callous as to the opinion of the world, he yet was anxious to keep up appearances as long as he could, especially as he well knew one of his colleagues, Sir William Dunkin, intended to oppose the judgment he was resolved to give. He therefore postponed from Term to Term the pronouncing of judgment, until at last the Plaintiff's Counsel in very peremptory language, insisted upon a judgment's being given, declaring that he would move for it daily, both at the sitting and rising of the Court, and if not given before the last day of the then Term he would advise his client to lay the whole case before His Majesty in his Privy Council Chamber by way of Memorial. This threat had the desired effect ; still Sir Robert was very desirous to avoid determining a question of such magnitude, and in which the evidence was far from bearing him out, by his own casting voice as Chief Justice. He therefore had the brutality to continue to urge Mr. Justice Hyde to come into Court, to support him, which would make such a measure unnecessary, and this he persisted in notwithstanding the physicians without hesitation gave it as their opinions that Mr. Hyde could not leave his room without endangering his life.

The day fixed upon for giving the judgment happened to be pending the half-yearly sessions ; a great number of jurymen were therefore in attendance, added to which, curiosity had drawn together many other auditors, a report having got about that the Chief Justice would that day exhibit himself in a most contemptible light. Mr. Hyde was at that time so weak and so reduced as to be unable to move without assistance ; he was likewise become so imbecile from disease as to be incapable of uttering a single sentence intelligibly. In this truly pitiable condition, he was supported into Court by three friends, who very slowly and not without considerable difficulty placed him in his

seat upon the Bench: during which a silence, the most profound and awful prevailed, which was at last broken by Sir Robert Chambers who, with his customary insignificance, frivolousness of manner, and total absence of dignity or feeling, smirkingly observed that as his brother Hyde was not *very well*! it would be better he should deliver his sentiments upon the case first, that he might not be unnecessarily detained from home! A universal expression of disapprobation and indignation thereupon burst from the spectators, accompanied with exclamations of "Oh, shame, shame!" Upon silence being restored, Sir Robert Chambers, addressing Mr. Hyde, said, "Brother Hyde, be pleased to deliver your opinion in the Bazaar Cause which has been some time pending." Mr. Hyde, apparently in a stupor, and looking as if about to expire upon the Bench, sat motionless for several minutes without taking the least notice of what the Chief Justice had said, when murmurs from the spectators of "Poor old gentleman! poor worthy good man! how unfeeling to place you in such a predicament! Shame upon those that have done it!" were distinctly heard.

Sir William Dunkin, feeling excessively at the distressing situation he saw Mr. Hyde in, instantly addressed him in soothing and kind language, requesting him to consider himself and not attempt to speak until he had recovered the fatigue of coming to Court. This seemed to bring him to his recollection, and taking Sir William Dunkin by the hand he pressed it affectionately, saying, "You are always considerate and kind, Sir William." In a few minutes more he opened his book of Notes, and appeared to be looking for the Cause upon which account he had come to Court. Whilst turning over the leaves he began in a low and tremulous voice to give an account of his sufferings during his illness and how little benefit he had found from the medicines given to him, after which he evidently wandered, talking in short sentences very incoherently. His voice becoming fainter and fainter, he at last fell back in his chair, everybody concluding he had expired. In a state of

utter insensibility he was carried out of Court and conveyed to his own house, amidst the general sympathy and sorrow of a crowded Court, the Chief Justice being the only person present that did not seem affected by the melancholy and distressing scene that had occurred.

Immediately after Mr. Hyde's being thus carried out, Sir Robert Chambers proceeded to give judgment in the Cause, which he did, contrary to his usual custom, in a few words, and without at all commenting upon the evidence that had been given. He directed the Prothonotary to minute the judgment, which must, he said, be for the Defendant, forthwith, hoping thereby he should prevent Sir William Dunkin from speaking upon the occasion, in which hope he was however disappointed. Sir William Dunkin commenced by reprobating the indelicacy and impropriety of the Chief Justice's thus attempting to interrupt the common course of proceeding in all Courts of Justice. He however said that nothing should hinder him from publicly declaring his most decided and positive dissent to the judgment that had just been pronounced, which judgment he considered contrary to law, directly in the teeth of evidence upon record, and equally contrary to reason as well as to common sense. He then, in the bitterest language lashed Sir Robert Chambers for his wanton cruelty in bringing his respectable and deservedly universally honoured friend, Mr. Justice Hyde, from the bed of sickness if not of death, with his intellect impaired and his body suffering under the agonies of disease, to exhibit himself in that deplorable state to the public view. Fortunately it was a feeling public the sufferer had to do with, a public who had shewn their marked disapprobation of the individual who had so improperly brought an honoured character before them when disease had rendered him unfit to act in his judicial capacity. Sir William then insisted upon the officer of the Court (that is the Prothonotary) making an official minute of his dissent to the judgment pronounced by the Chief Justice, and that too from the power the Legislature had armed him with, when only two Judges

were upon the Bench, of having a second voice ; he next gave his reasons for such dissent, very much at large, animadverting upon the evidence that had been adduced on both sides with much clearness and perspicuity, drawing his conclusions in so fair and natural a manner as to carry conviction to the mind of every unprejudiced man who heard him, that the judgment was, as he had in his outset pronounced it, an illegal and most iniquitous one.

The Supreme Court was now reduced to two Judges, both of whom thought proper to go upon excursions of pleasure for their own gratification, thereby inconsiderately leaving the Presidency of Calcutta with its immense populace for several weeks in a state that was productive of much mischief, and might have been of infinitely more, as during that period no process of any kind, however urgent the occasion, could issue, no writ could be taken out, no will proved, no administration be applied for : all public business was completely at a stand. Sir Robert Chambers's total indifference about the public convenience, or the public interest, was too well known to create any surprize at his absenting himself, but all were greatly so at Sir William Dunkin's want of consideration, and he afterwards expressed his concern to me at the town's being so left, but added he should never have thought of leaving it had he not been assured from what he considered good authority, that Sir Robert Chambers had no intention of leaving Fort William.

Mr. John Rider, the brother of my friend Mr. Jacob Rider, having received the unwelcome information that his favourite and only child (a daughter) of nineteen years of age had unhappily attached herself to Mr. Crouch, the husband of the famous singer, and had actually gone to reside with him, all her mother's endeavours to get her from him proving ineffectual, he resolved to go himself to England for the express purpose of rescuing his girl from so disgraceful a connection. He accordingly, without loss of time, took his passage on board the *Georgina* packet,

though as matters turned out he might have spared himself the trouble.

In August it was my doom to experience another domestic affliction which affected me more than anything which had occurred since losing my dear and over-lamented Charlotte. My cheerful and sweet-tempered Jemdanee who, from the time of her announcing to me her being pregnant, had gone on admirably well, regularly increasing in bulk, continued in the best state of health, but as I was anxious she should have the medical assistance of a gentleman I placed the utmost confidence in, to attend at the important period of her delivery, I took her from Chinsurah to Calcutta on the 30th of July. Upon our arrival in town I sent for Doctor Hare, who after questioning and examining her apart, told me her confinement might be hourly expected. She remained in uninterrupted health and the highest flow of spirits until the 4th of August when, having laughed and chatted with her after my breakfast, I went to the Court House to attend a Cause of considerable importance which was to be tried that morning. I had not been there more than an hour when several of my servants in the utmost alarm ran over to tell me that the Bibee Sahib was dying. Instantly going home, I found my poor girl laying in a state of insensibility, apparently with a locked jaw, her teeth being so fast clenched together that no force could separate them. She had just been delivered of a fine strong healthy-looking male child which was remarkably fair.

Doctor Hare arrived in five minutes after I got home, and was greatly surprized and alarmed at the state in which he found her, for which he could in no way account. By the application of powerful drugs which the Doctor administered, she, in half an hour, recovered her senses and speech, appeared very solicitous to encourage and comfort me, saying she had no doubt but she should do very well. Doctor Hare also gave me his assurances that the dangerous paroxysm was past and all would be as we could wish. With this comfortable assurance I again went to attend to my business in Court, from whence I was once more hastily

summoned to attend to my dying favourite, who had been suddenly attacked by a second fit from which she never recovered, but lay in a state of confirmed apoplexy until nine o'clock at night when she, without a pang, expired.

Thus did I lose as gentle and affectionately attached a girl as over man was blessed with. She possessed a strong natural understanding, with more acuteness and wit than is usually to be found amongst native women of Hindostan ; and she being a general favourite with all my intimate friends, her death was very sincerely regretted by many. Some days after her burial, upon my making particular enquiries of her female attendants as to the manner she had been attacked in, I was informed that when the pains of labour first came on, she had cried and moaned extremely, where-upon they, according to the orders I had left, directly sent for Doctor Hare, who unluckily was from home : that after laying an hour in violent agony, she was safely delivered of a boy, when an old Bengallee woman who officiated as midwife, absurdly took it into her head she would have twins, and therefore eagerly desired her to lay still, for that another child was coming. This so terrified the poor suffering girl, that giving a violent screech, she instantly went into strong convulsions, the sad consequence being what I have already related.

Mrs. Turner, the wife of my partner, being herself the mother of a numerous family, felt how entirely unequal I should be to undertaking the care of a young infant. She therefore very considerately and kindly ordered the poor little fellow might be conveyed to her house, where she received him as if her own, procuring a nurse and everything that was requisite for him. All my friends humanely exerted themselves to console me under my affliction, the foremost of whom was Colonel MacGowan, who would take no refusal, but compelled me to accompany him to his hospitable residence at Barrackpore where he at that time commanded, and where he kept me twelve days before he would allow me to quit him and return to the duties of my profession.

In September I received the following letter from my friend Mr. Cane :

“ TOURS,

February 1st, 1796.

“ MY DEAR WILLIAM,

It is but ten days ago that I received yours of the 30th of November, 1793, not that your letter was unusually long in reaching Europe but that the communication between France and Great Britain is more difficult to be got over than that of ancient Egypt with strangers. A Bostonian who has been here some months, and who returns to his native country by the way of London, promises to put this into the Letter Box at the East India House.

So now to business. I must touch lightly upon politics, lest the eagle eye of the present Government that sees into everything should prevent this from ever reaching you. On the 9th of October, 1793, I was imprisoned here as a subject of His Britannic Majesty, notwithstanding two Constitutions of France had previously assured me I was entitled to and should have the benefits *and all the rights* of a French citizen. After a confinement of full fifteen months they released me, but in the interim they had sold three estates which I had purchased in the neighbourhood situated on the beautiful banks of the Loire, worth at least two hundred and fifty pounds a year. On these lands there were three excellent houses, besides which there was my house in town ; my horses, plate, furniture, wine (no trifling article with me, William, as you well know, in any country) yet the whole went for two hundred and ten thousand livres, at a time when the paper money and specie were at par ; and since that, as they allowed the sale was illegal, they have given me, *in paper*, the amount of the sale, but at a time when the Louis d'or was sold at three hundred livres, so that I got about seventy pounds sterling, for what was intrinsically worth eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling !

All this I no doubt deserve for having ever trusted them, or purchased property under the control of such wild people. This, although a severe blow, is nothing in comparison to what I am going to relate. I had paid a thousand pounds difference between a Lieutenancy for my son, had in the 22nd Regiment of Foot, and a Lieutenancy in the 14th Dragoons : not to save him from exposing his person in battle, but from the murderous

influence of the climates of the East or West Indies. Four months after this he exchanged with the Captain-Lieutenant of the 17th Regiment, then under sailing orders for Jamaica, from which island he wrote on the 8th of July, 1794, in perfect health, and on the 10th of the same month he died of the yellow fever. Fortunately perhaps for me, he had acted so unkindly by me for some time previous to his departure from Europe, by leaving my house and residing at that of a person whose daughter he had contracted himself to, although he knew I had an insuperable objection to the father's want of fortune, his character and his constitution, for the whole family are consumptive; to the girl's conduct, manners, etc. etc.—never writing to me after his quitting Tours in the month of January, 1793; in leaving away from me over an hundred pounds a year which I had made over to him on his going into the Army, but which I intended should have been only for his life; he however availed himself of the deeds being made out to him, his heirs, executors, etc. In short, I must repeat it, fortunately his conduct was such as softened the blow; for had he acted as I hoped, and once expected he would, I should have followed him in a very few days after receiving the news of his death. Still, however, it cost me a very severe fit of illness, and many months of grievous melancholy; after which I began to consider that it was not good for man to be alone, but I also considered I was too far advanced in years (being now fifty-two) to marry an agreeable woman of a certain time of life, and a young one I suspected would cuckold me—still I could not reconcile myself to the thoughts of an old one. There was an English maid servant, who had lived fifteen years with Mrs. Johnson, my mother-in-law, and my wife. She was still at Tours, having been imprisoned with the other English here. She was tall, beautifully shaped, about thirty years of age, with the finest complexion and skin in the world, but so marked, so seamed with the smallpox that she was universally reckoned very ugly. Yet under the mask I observed great regularity of features, and I knew that before the ravages of the smallpox she had been considered the prettiest girl at Bridge North in Shropshire, and she left England with a French family only because she could not bear to be the ugliest girl in town where she had once been the handsomest. I attacked her, won her—and in nine months afterwards she brought me a boy so incredibly handsome that though he is but five months old, when we take him to air on the Mall, we are followed by crowds to gaze at him.

I have undertaken *son education physique* ! He is washed with cold spring water every morning from head to foot, never taken near a fire, never has a cloth put on hot, and is as near being naked as decency will permit, never was swathed, so that he has a perfect use of his legs and feet as of his hands and arms.

Now I take all this trouble from the certitude I have that he is my child. 'As how, my old friend ?' say you. Why thus : ever since we have a remembrance of our family there is a particular distinguishing mark which everyone that bears the name has, the second and third toe is joined or webbed up to the first joint. My son William had it, my brother and my sisters have it. My father and nine of his brothers and sisters had it, and my little fellow of five months has it likewise. I here have recognised him as my son in all the forms prescribed by Law, so that he will inherit what I have in France as matter of right, and I have bought back one of my houses with nine acres of ground, half pasture, half vineyard, the whole worth about fifteen hundred pounds sterling. I have also, *entre nous*, made a Will in the strictest forms, bequeathing him my fortune in England and Ireland. When one has no doubt of the paternity, nor of the genuineness of the attachment of the mother, *ma foi*, a natural child is in my opinion much nearer than a nephew or a niece, who are already provided for, and whose father and mother have proved bitter enemies to me. So I reasoned and so I have acted, but I would not have you mention it, as Burroughs might write word of my intentions, and I don't wish to have a declared war with my family during my lifetime. After my death others can carry it on according to their own will and pleasure.

Burroughs and all his breed are the greatest scoundrels unchanged. He stole his wife from a gentleman who had been the patron and benefactor of his father. His brother was Chaplain to the Duke of Dorset when His Grace was Ambassador at the Court of France. He at that time had not a guinea, as the Duke only gave him his board and lodging. In the years 1788 and 1789 he wrote to me, entreating my assistance, sacredly promising that whatever I might kindly advance, he would repay me in six months as he should then receive the income of a Living of four hundred pounds per annum, which the Bishop of Derry had given him. I, like an egregious fool, sent him at different times three hundred pounds, out of what I received from Sullivan. When the paltry rascal had got all he could worm from me, instead of returning the amount according to promise, he had

the effrontery to say he would pay it in six years, to which I objected, observing that such a distant period would not suit me, and that I expected he would adhere to his word, by reimbursing me immediately, or if he would convert the debt into an annuity bond I would engage that he should be at liberty to redeem it whenever he chose, without any premium. To this he was pleased to answer, "that he thought he had been dealing with a gentleman and not a usurious money lender." Fortunately for me I had an acknowledgment in writing from him, for the amount received, dated in London. This I sent to an attorney named Millington, who in consequence applied professionally to Burroughs, telling him if the demand was not discharged or sufficient security given forthwith, he must arrest him. The fellow accordingly in the first instance gave security that was deemed sufficiently responsible and subsequently paid the money to Millington, who in ten days after the amount came into his possession, was declared a bankrupt; a Commission issued against him under which nothing was forthcoming, and not a single sixpence have I or shall I ever receive. So much for the two scoundrel brothers!

I protest to God you are the only person I ever lent money to who has acted with honour towards me, and I look with real pleasure to the possibility of receiving you here on a visit of one, two, or three years; I am handsomely, nay elegantly furnished in both town and country, have an income more than adequate to my necessary wants and though my annuity creditors have the receipt of my fortune during my life, I neither have nor ever will give anything which can incur the Fee simple.

Although your intentions towards me were most friendly I am sorry you spoke to Burroughs. Pray take an opportunity of saying to him that you had written me word of what you said to him, and that my answer was, that I was more accustomed to bestow favours on his family than to receive them, and that I declined any service whatsoever at his hands; call to the blackguard's recollection that I allowed his grandmother twenty pounds a year for the last twenty-three years of her life!

If you can, by writing to Popham or by getting anyone to speak to him, obtain the principal of the note, I will give up the interest. If he will not do that then try to get an hundred and fifty or even one hundred pounds. I leave it entirely to you. Whatever you get, be it but fifty pounds I shall be contented.

Should he pay anything, send it as usual to Mr. Wilbraham who is like yourself my unabating and firm friend.

My health I think I may now venture to say is tolerably good. My country house is about three miles from my town residence. I generally visit the former three or four times a week. Since my imprisonment I had no carriage nor horse, so go on foot, and return to dinner (I speak of the winter time) with the appetite of a monk. The prospect from my house is exquisite, a gradual slope to the Loire, from which I am distant about a thousand yards (before the sale all the intermediate ground belonged to me, and one of my gardens reached to the banks of the river), on an elevation of at least three hundred feet above the bed of the river, which is here a quarter of a mile broad. At the distance of two miles runs another navigable river, called the Cher, parallel with the Loire, and two miles further towards the south, a range of hills rises, equal in height and upon a line with the one my house stands on. The country is as thickly inhabited, and as well cultivated as that which lies under our famous and deservedly admired Richmond hill, and the Cher is equal to the Thames at Twickenham, the Loire to it at Erith. Poor Erith! Do you ever think of it? When I escaped from vindictive creditors in the month of August, 1777, I got into a wherry at Billingsgate, met Johnston near Limehouse, in the *Congress*, coming up with passengers. He put them into my wherry, and we ran down with a westerly wind, lay at Gravesend, stopped again at Margate for provisions, and from thence crossed over to Calais without his having the least suspicion that I was getting away to avoid a prison! I shed tears involuntarily as we passed Erith! I have hung up in my bed chamber the pretty little landscape you draw of it, nor is there a foot of the spot but what is fully impressed upon my memory. Farewell, my dear Will--I could cry like a child at the remembrance of former days, and old friends, among whom you deservedly hold a distinguished place.

Ever yours most affectionately,

WILL. CANE."

The foregoing was the last letter I ever received from Mr. Cane, though I continued writing to him for three years successively. That he is no more is I therefore fear beyond all doubt

In October a great alarm took place throughout the

Company's territories, from a report that Zemaun Shan, an independent Prince of Hindostan, and said to be possessed of much wealth and influence with the Northern people, had taken the Field at the head of a vast army with which he was approaching to attack the British Settlement in the Upper Provinces. This Zemaun Shan was said to be an immediate descendant of the great Timur Shan. Report further stated him actually to have taken the important, from being deemed impregnable, Fortress of Lahore. In consequence of this account's being credited by Government every Regiment that could be spared were directly ordered to assemble upon the Frontiers, Sir James Craig, Knight of the Bath and Major-General in His Majesty's service but sent to India upon the staff of Bengal, being appointed to the command of the troops thus collecting. Our sagacious Governor-General, Sir John Shore, also conceived that his presence might prove of much benefit, possibly by frightening any of the enemy who should come within view of him, as there certainly never existed a more hideous ugly fellow. Be his object what it might he set out for Lucknow. However, all this prodigious alarm and consequent measures ended in nothing; the army, after marching several hundred miles, at a ruinous expense, and crossing three wide and rapid rivers, by bridges of boats, or rather rafts, which they were obliged to construct themselves, could gain no tidings whatsoever of the dreaded Zemaun Shan or his vast army. The whole was therefore supposed to have been a political bugbear, invented and propagated by a native of high rank in the neighbourhood of Lucknow. This being the case, Sir James Craig, after allowing his troops a few days' rest to recover their fatigue, leisurely returned with them to their respective cantonments, and so ended the much apprehended campaign.

In the same month of October, I received the following letter from Mr. Benjamin Mee.

"MY DEAR HICKRY,

I sent from Bremen about a month ago, a long letter giving you some account of our unfortunate military operations

during the last campaign, and the miserable issue of it. I also acknowledged and thanked you for your welcome letters by the packet, as well as the statements contained in those brought by Mr. Foley, which the more I reflect upon, the more cruel and distressing they strike me to be, and all originating in the misconduct of the Trustees and the supineness of the Creditors, somewhat increased too by Mr. Rider's attachment to his own views and schemes, which always were, and will continue to be, narrow and selfish, entered upon without judgment to form any foresight of the consequences likely to result either to himself or others.

I have written by the same packet to Mure and to Ross, and feeling so greatly as I do for the former, I wrote to Mr. Henchman and his other Attornies, Messrs. Petrie and Mure, informing them that I could get no account from Boehm's house of the goods in their hands, and of the remittances made to enable them to pay our Bill to Mure, I hoped they could inform me whether the goods were sold, and if not I conceived the delay in the sales met their approbation in expectation of better markets.

Henchman writes me word that he thinks I have just reason to be dissatisfied with Messrs. Boehm and Company and adds that they have refused him any account. He supposes they must have good reason for what they do, but thinks they may hereafter make themselves responsible; I am surprized some good legal opinion has not been taken. Mure never sufficiently pressed the Boehms for accounts when in England, and his agents are equally easy now he is absent. This falls heavy on me and, added to my uneasiness of mind, has reduced me to an absolute skeleton. I suspect too that I have long had an internal malady, so that altogether, my dear Hickey, I am very near done up.

I have been obliged to leave the Army for the present on account of bad health, and after trying the medical tribe for three months with their various experiments, none of which have proved more efficacious than temporary palliatives, I am sent to Pyrmont to bathe and drink the waters. I begin to rally somewhat, the weather being uncommonly fine, with a clear dry air. Being quite alone and doing as I please, certainly gives me strength, but I cannot stay longer than a fortnight I fear, as the Commissary-General and his Deputy are going to England and (unsolicited by me, the channel of recommendation too wholly unknown by me) I have received a letter from London informing me that I am to succeed as Deputy Commissary-General. This

makes my return to Bremen indispensably necessary prior to the Commissary-General's departure from that quarter. My new appointment will certainly be very flattering, the emoluments arising from it, not great, consisting simply in an increase of salary which may amount, including what I now receive, to forty shillings a day, but then with such new appointment comes great responsibility, labour and expense.

I have never had a line from Ross, nor can I trace by any accounts that have been transmitted, any disposal of my property or to whom, or what was taken under sequestration or other accursed process. As David Ross refused to act under my assignment I wonder the Trustees did not avail themselves of that circumstance. And now to drop for a moment what is naturally uppermost, my own concerns.

The Emperor of Germany engages to send troops to the amount of two hundred thousand men against the common enemy, and we are to furnish him with a loan of four million seven hundred thousand pounds. The Empress of Russia has made a defensive alliance with us. On the other hand the King of Prussia has made peace with France. All this you will see by the newspapers which, together with Magazines and Annual Register, I have directed may be regularly forwarded to you.

What measures are to be taken for the ensuing Summer campaign I know not. Skeletons of British Cavalry Regiments still remain, which, with Emigrant Corps, if effective, would form a handsome and respectable reserve. The Hessians are included in the Prussian peace, as are also some other small German states. Great commotions in Paris, the Mountain party versus Convention. Many lives have already been lost, but the Jacobins were at last subdued. Our only chance of success arises from their internal disputes and dissension, but until even that comes from a party inclined to a limited Monarchy against Republicanism, I fear we shall gain no solid benefit. There are still ideas entertained of succeeding in Brittany. I should lament an expedition arising from the encouragement given to such a measure by Loyalists, because though I firmly believe they mean well, their passions, and an ill-judged zeal lead them astray.

I hope you are preparing for the early ships to return to your native land and that I may look forward to the comfort of once more seeing you in the enjoyment of perfect health, and all your wishes accomplished. Your most friendly and kind regards are daily in my thoughts, and never more than lately while musing

by myself. Truly consolatory do I find them to reflect upon, and truly grateful do I feel for them. Often and often have I wished you near me that I might have the benefit of your excellent counsel and advice. Poor Fatty too often accompanies me in my rides on the mountains, and in the valleys. In the latter I make Echo repeat 'Oh Kodar.' How the dear girl would laugh and enjoy a sight of the peasants and the fair Jewesses when decked out in all the tinselled finery of their holiday suits. I trust she has regained her natural spirits and increased to her usual plumpness, both which so well and so peculiarly became her. It very frequently occurs to my mind with a deep drawn sigh how many miserable hours your leaving India will cost that amiable Jemdancee. Make my very kindest regards and Bhote Bhote Salaams and tell her the first Persian letter I write shall be addressed to the best of all Bibee Sahebs. How greatly I wish I was partaking of a Curry Khonah with her.

Mr. Hastings is to have some pecuniary compliment from the East India Company. Poor man! An elegant ball and supper was given to him lately, at Willis's rooms, almost all the Indians in London being present, and such Quizzes when assembled, not only in Dress but Address, you who know the pompous race so well can easily conceive. I am informed the like never was seen before.

Maxwell's (old blue beard) brother, who was with our army has gone home, with some of the Infantry. The *ci devant* vigilant magistrate of Calcutta is living very much at his ease though his final plan is not yet settled. The Captain thinks he will fix in or near London; I saw the latter often, he is a very pleasant gentleman-like fellow, and I am sorry in bad health from severe bilious obstructions.

Our boozing companion Hay Macdoul, is also with our army, and is endeavouring to effect an exchange for India, which country he is extremely partial to. I find General Lake is also pushing all his interest to obtain the command in your quarter. I see by my letters the Company have lost some of their most distinguished and best officers in the disastrous Rohilla War or Battle. The Indian powers never will be easy if once they gain force and strength. They detest us and well they may, for how have we behaved towards many of them?

As the Commanders of the ships have taken leave and a messenger is just departing for Vienna with dispatches, I will avail myself of that opportunity and now close my letter, desiring to

be remembered to all who care anything about me. My love to Fatty. And that every happiness may wait on you and her is the sincere wish of your true and affectionate friend,

BENJ. MEE."

"I write to Mure and Ross by the same conveyance."

The above was the last letter I ever received from this excellent man, he having gone the same sad road as my equally valued friend Mr. Cane. I did not hear of the melancholy event until long after it had occurred, it being announced to me by his brother-in-law, Mr. Culverden, in the following letter :

"DEAR SIR,

I take the first opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your favour of the 25th of February and likewise one addressed to poor Ben Mee. I was much surprized to find that you had not heard of the death of that worthy man, as from my knowing your great regard for him and the interest you felt respecting him, I wrote a few lines in the year 1796, informing you we had unfortunately lost him. He having died that season at Montpelier. Had it pleased the Almighty to prolong his life, we flattered ourselves that his merits would have procured him some comfortable situation. He had great friends in this country who were exerting themselves in his favour. He however never could have resided in England, owing to the immense debts of the Bengal Bank which were always hanging over his head. The chief wish he had was to live amongst his own family and being debarred from the possibility of doing so preyed upon his mind. I understand when upon his death bed he declared that he died of a broken heart. You may easily conceive what a shock it was to his dear sisters, and how lamented by all his friends. When he embarked for India, amongst those who advanced him money was Lord Palmerston, who I understood from poor Ben, had sent over a power of Attorney to prove a debt of fifteen hundred pounds on his estate ; but his affairs having taken such a confused course, I suppose nothing effectual was done for Lord Palmerston. I believe the power was given to Messieurs Cockerell and Company. If you should have an opportunity of ascertaining anything relative to it, I shall be very much obliged by your communication thereupon. If at

any time you should have commands here that I can execute, I shall feel particularly happy in doing so, and in every way to shew my respect for so sincere a friend of my highly valued relative Benjamin Mec. I am heartily sorry to add he left little behind him, as he was always fond of hospitality, and most rigidly conscientious in everything connected with his public situation. Honour was therefore all he gained.

I send this by Captain Prescott, a very particular friend of mine, to whom I have given a separate letter of introduction, and shall feel myself obliged by your affording him any assistance in regard to his investment, etc., this being his first voyage to Bengal, where he of course is quite a stranger. I hope you will remain quiet in the East. Here all is War. Should you happen to know Captain Barrington Bradshaw who accompanied General St. Leger to Bengal, pray offer my best remembrances. He is a pleasant and good man in whose success I feel deeply interested. Wishing you health and happiness,

I remain, Dear Sir,
your sincere and very obedient, humble servant,
W. CULVERDEN."

In the latter end of the year Mr. Macnaghten, being nominated to the situation of High Sheriff of Calcutta, by his father-in-law, Sir William Dunkin, he appointed me his deputy, in which capacity on the 20th of December I took charge of the jail and prisoners from Ralph Uvedale, Esquire, who had been Sheriff the preceding year.

CHAPTER X

1797

ENTERTAINMENTS AT CHINSURAH. GENERAL JOHN
ST. LEGER AND GENERAL SIR ALURED CLARKE.
A RUINED CHAPLAIN

ON the 18th of March Sir Alured Clarke arrived, and I was the same day introduced to him in the most kind and affectionate manner by Mr. Hunter,¹ who styled me, "A rare friend who had conferred such favours upon him as it was impossible he ever could repay." Sir Alured Clarke, whose manners were quite those of a man of fashion, received me with the utmost politeness and cordiality—expressing his warmest thanks for my zealous exertions on behalf of his relation and friend.

On the 22nd I received the following note from Mr. Hunter :

"MY DEAR HICKEY,

General Clarke will have a Levee to-morrow morning at ten o'clock when I hope to see you there. You will be happy to hear that all is going on very smoothly, and that through his influence and recommendation I hope shortly to have it in my power to acquit myself at least of my pecuniary obligations to you. Those of another kind are beyond all remuneration, and can cease only with the life of your truly devoted and most gratefully affectionate,

WM. ORBY HUNTER.

22nd March, 1797."

¹ See note at end as to Mr. W. Orby Hunter's relations with the author.—Ed.

St. Patrick's Day was this year celebrated with much hilarity in Calcutta, Colonel Wellesley (now Marquis Wellington) presiding at the dinner and doing the duties of the Chair with peculiar credit to himself.

In the morning of that day a gentleman walked into my study whose features and voice I felt that I ought to recognize, though I certainly did not. He delivered me a letter from the Honourable Mrs. Byng (now Lady Viscountess Torrington) by the contents of which I discovered that the person standing before me was no other than Arthur Forrest! but so altered for the worse, so shattered that he looked thirty years older than when I had last seen him; indeed the change was so great that I could hardly persuade myself it was the same fine-looking lad I had known a few years before. He told me that not being able to procure accommodation in any ship from England to Madras, upon which establishment he was now a Captain in the Corps of Engineers, he had come out by the round of Bengal. He immediately became an inmate of my house, and as my guest I took him with me to the St. Patrick's Day festival, which was held at the Tavern.

On the 20th of the same month another famous character arrived in Bengal, Major-General John St. Leger, who had for a long period been the bosom friend and companion of the Prince of Wales. From having lived so much with His Royal Highness, he had not only suffered in his health, but materially impaired his fortune, and was therefore happy to get out of the way of the Prince's temptations by visiting Bengal, upon which Establishment he was placed upon His Majesty's Staff, with an allowance of upwards of five thousand sicca rupees a month. He brought out with him as his own staff Major Maxwell, thentofore of the 76th Regiment, his Brigade Major,—Captain De Lancy, as his aide-de-camp, a high spirited, fine, dashing youth, who, though not more than eighteen years old, had a troop of Dragoons, and Barrington Bradshaw, who had been senior Captain in the Horse Guards, in which situation he had got rid of the property he possessed, a more gentlemanlike pleasant man

could not be. General St. Leger trusted to future chances to provide for him.

As I had known the General in England I accepted the proposal of Mr. Orby Hunter, who had been well acquainted with him in the days of his prosperity, to accompany him in a call to pay our respects upon his landing in Bengal. We accordingly went together to the General's house and were very kindly received. From that time scarce a day passed without the General's calling upon me, and frequently persuading me to go home and dine with him. I soon asked him to go up to Chinsurah, which he readily agreed to do, and I conveyed him with his family, Messieurs Maxwell, De Lancy, and Bradshaw up in my boat. He was quite delighted with the whole style of my house, and equally so with the country about me, which abounded with pleasant rides. He often afterwards declared the only happy days he spent in Bengal were those during his visits to Chinsurah. I certainly did everything in my power to render my house agreeable. Having his horses with him we rose early every morning making long excursions from which we returned with keen appetites for breakfast. That meal being over we adjourned to the billiard room, where I had an excellent table of Seddon's make. When tired of that game the General and I sat down to Trick Track which he played remarkably well and was very fond of. Thus the mornings passed, about half-past three we retired to our respective rooms, of which I had seven for bachelors, to dress, and at four precisely sat down to dinner. My first party besides General St. Leger and family, consisted of Colonel Wellesley, Mr. Royds, Mr. Simon Ewart, and Mr. Hunter, all from Calcutta, and of the gentlemen who resided in the neighbourhood Mr. Richard Comyns Birch, his brother John Brereton Birch, the honourable Charles Andrew Bruce, brother to the Earl of Elgin, Sir Alexander Seton, Sir Charles Blunt, and my old Westminster chum, Mr. John Scawen, with my guest Arthur Forrest, of course, some of whom daily joined us, so that we usually sat down a dozen at table when we pushed the claret about

very freely. Mr. Bradshaw was an uncommonly pleasing singer and afforded us great amusement. He excelled in all the famous Captain Morris's songs.

General St. Leger had come to India in the full expectation of having the command of the whole of the Company's Cavalry to which he had been specially recommended, in fact actually appointed by the Court of Directors. But the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, did not think proper to carry the orders of the Leadenhall Street folks into effect, at which General St. Leger was excessively indignant, and as he delivered his sentiments thereupon very freely, and in pointed terms to Sir John Shore, both by writing and parolly, they were at open war with each other : all intercourse in the way of society consequently ceased between them.

Sir Alured Clarke did all in his power to make up for the neglect and ill behaviour of the Governor-General by shewing General St. Leger every degree of respectful attention, which example was followed by several of the principal persons of the Settlement, and by no one more so than General Brisco, of the Company's Army, who though previously unknown to General St. Leger, was peculiarly civil. This General Brisco was one of the most benevolent and kind-hearted men in the world, but in point of intellect rather deficient and weak, and from a want of knowledge of mankind, frequently said and did strange and awkward things, something of which kind occurred with respect to Sir Alured Clarke, who had been sent from England with the command of the Army destined to proceed against the Dutch Fortress at the Cape of Good Hope, a service which he carried into execution with equal skill and success, taking the place with much less loss of lives than was expected. So much satisfaction did his conduct give to the Ministry, that General Clarke was complimented with the Order of the Bath and received the public thanks of the East India Company. Besides which they appointed him to the command of the troops in Bengal. A man who had rendered himself thus conspicuous by his eminent public services

and been rewarded by his Sovereign with a red ribbon one would naturally have supposed must have had credit for what he had done in his profession, at least by military men of such high rank as General Briscoo, yet the very first time this unthinking man dined with Sir Alured Clarke, who, let it be remembered came on from the Cape, after taking the same and remaining in the command thereof for several months, to his command in India, he with the utmost simplicity enquired whether His Excellency had stopped at the Cape of Good Hope, on his way out. At so ill-timed and odd a question all eyes were turned upon General Briscoo with surprize. Sir Alured Clarke at first appeared mortified by the interrogatory, but after a few moments pause, recovered himself, and with a significant smile upon his countenance, answered, "Yes, sir, I had the honour after taking it of residing there some months." General Briscoo coolly replied, "I hope you liked the place," seeming unconscious of having asked an improper question.

Large dinner parties and sumptuous entertainments were formed by the leading gentlemen of Calcutta for this much talked of and celebrated associate of the Heir Apparent's, to all which I, as an acquaintance of his, was invited, so that I got into a round of continued excess and dissipation, for General St. Leger still drank freely, and I never could flinch from the bottle when in jovial society. Among the foremost to shew him civility was Sir William Dunkin, who remarked to me that he had many years before lived much with his (General St. Leger's) father and that he knew every foot of his estates in Ireland, his own adjoining to the principal one of his old friend Jack St. Leger.

In April, Sir William Dunkin went with the General and me to Chinsurah where we spent three days very cheerfully. The second morning while engaged at billiards, General St. Leger suddenly cried out, "What a delicious smell there is! Who is smoking? I never smelt better tobacco and should like to partake. Could you not get me a whiff from one of the servants?" As I concluded he was

joking, not supposing so elegant a man could ever have been in the habit of using so vulgar an herb, meaning to be facetious, I answered, "Very nice perfume indeed, perhaps, Sir, you would like to partake, if so I can introduce you to the operator which is not a servant but a guest of mine." General St. Leger then said, "Upon my word I am serious in saying I should like a pipe of all things." As I knew the smoker to be my friend Arthur Forrest, who from habit was uncomfortable, unless he had a couple of cheroots between breakfast and dinner, but at the same time feeling ashamed of the vulgarity of the act, usually shut himself up in his own chamber to use them, I told the General to follow me gently I conducted him therefore up the circular back stairs thus entering Forrest's room by a back door used only by the servants.

We found the Captain sitting in his shirt and long drawers, the weather being intensely hot, his legs up in a chair, and enjoying a cheroot. He looked excessively foolish and somewhat angrily at me, until General St. Leger with a great good humour said, "Upon my word, Captain Forrest, this is very unfair to exclude your friends from partaking of what you know to be both pleasant and wholesome, but as we have thus intruded without your invitation give me leave further to trespass by requesting you will allow me to join you," and down he sat, drawing from a bundle of cheroots, one which he lighted and began puffing away with great glee. He recommended me to follow his example, which I declined. At dinner he told us he had learned to smoke when serving under the Duke of York with the army upon the Continent, where they were frequently encamped on low marshy ground, and the Physicians recommended the use of tobacco as conducive to health, and he added that he had ever since been glad to take a pipe or a sagar when either came in his way, and enjoyed it very much.

Upon my return to Calcutta, Mr. Hunter began to express his uneasiness and disappointment at nothing having been yet done for him. He said his anxiety was increased by

perceiving that the two or three last times he had urged Sir Alured Clarke upon that subject he had appeared displeased, petulantly remarking that he must be allowed his own time: that it was equally imprudent and impossible for him daily to tease the Governor-General, without whose concurrence nothing effectual could be done. Mr. Hunter always assured me, and I firmly believe he made such assurances under a conviction of his being warranted so to do, that from the moment of Sir Alured Clarke's arrival he thought his fortune secure, and that his first object always was properly to remunerate me, which until he effected he never should rest quietly in his bed. To these sort of observations I invariably replied by requesting that he would not make himself unhappy about the matter as I was not in immediate want of cash, and if I received it in twelve or even eighteen months every purpose would be answered. Notwithstanding all I could say, however, it soon became evident to others as well as to me, that Mr. Hunter's spirits were greatly depressed and that he was falling into absolute despondency. From being an uncommonly cheerful companion and courting society, he suddenly became a perfect recluse, refused all invitations, and sat moping by himself for weeks together, Mr. Scawen (who was sincerely attached to him), General St. Leger, and myself all exerted our utmost endeavours to rouse him from this dejected state, though without success.

In the beginning of May my little boy, who had been from the time of his birth under the kind care of Mrs. Turner, until about a month prior to the above date, and was grown a lovely child, was suddenly become seriously indisposed, and notwithstanding the professional abilities and indefatigable exertions of Doctor Hare, and of his partner Doctor James Williamson, he, after a severe fever of ten days' continuance, departed this life, and thus was I deprived of the only living memento of my lamented favourite Jemdanee.

While ruminating over my then recent loss, Mr. Birch called upon me to say he had set on foot a scheme for

having some good horse racing at Chinsurah in the commencement of the then ensuing month, for which purpose he had directed that the Course might be well rolled three times a week and put into the best order. This he mentioned to me thinking it would be a pleasing amusement to General St. Leger, who he knew to be well skilled in everything relative to horses. I therefore invited the General and his family to spend the first week in June in my house, which he willingly accepted. On the 31st of May we went up to Chinsurah together, as did Colonel Wellesley (now Marquis of Wellington), my friend John Seawen, and a nephew of his named Blunt, a young clergyman of very eccentric and peculiarly odd manners. Although I had no less than ten spare beds, my house was quite full. I, however, knew that I could have as many more as I might require at either Mr. Richard or Mr. John Birch's, both of whom were my near neighbours. When I left town Mr. Hunter faithfully promised that he would join our party, a promise from the state of his mind I certainly did not expect he would keep. Instead of doing so he wrote me a melancholy letter declaring himself wholly unfit for society and consequently begging that I would excuse him.

The 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of June we each morning had admirable sport, the horses running in capital style; two races were won by only half a neck. General St. Leger was quite delighted, positively saying what he had just seen could scarcely have been excelled at Newmarket. The weather, too, was unusually favourable for us. The different horses that ran were undoubtedly as beautiful animals as could be found in any part of the world.

The 4th being His Majesty's birthday I resolved to pay due honour thereto. I had procured a very fine turtle and half of a tolerably fat deer, engaging an eminent French cook from Calcutta to dress the dinner. At three o'clock the following party sat down at table: Myself, whom I mention first as master of the house; on my right hand, General St. Leger, on the left Colonel Wellesley, Mr. Van Citters, the

Dutch Governor, who politely insisted upon those two gentlemen being next to me, Major Maxwell, Captain De Lancy, Sir Alexander Seton, Major Barrington Bradshaw, the two Birch's, Lieutenant Doyle of the 78th Regiment, son of General Doyle the most intimate friend of General St. Leger, the Honourable Charles Andrew Bruce, brother of Lord Elgin, Mr. Royds, now Sir John, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, Mr. Seawen, his nephew Mr. Blunt, and Captain Arthur Forrest, making the number sixteen. The dinner was pronounced excellent by all, but especially by General St. Leger, a professed judge of every circumstance connected with good living. He likewise admitted that the turtle and venison were done justice to in respect of dressing. I had taken especial care to lay in a *quantum sufficit* of the best champagne that was procurable, my claret, hock, and madeira I knew were not to be surpassed in Bengal. The day went off with the utmost hilarity and good humour. We had several choice songs by Major Bradshaw and Captain Forrest, followed by delightful catches and glees by them and the Messieurs Birch. General St. Leger in the course of the evening sang "The British Grenadiers" with high spirit; in short in such perfect harmony were the whole party that we did not break up until between two and three o'clock in the morning, when my guests retired to their respective apartments.

At ten o'clock the following morning the majority reassembled to breakfast when all complained more or less of headache or slight sickness, except the gay young Captain De Lancy, who protested he never was better in his life, and had slept uninterruptedly from which "he was sure the wines were sterling." "A hair of the same dog" on the 5th set all the complainers to rights, and the scene of the preceding day was renewed. The 6th the whole party dined with the Dutch Governor, Mr. Van Citters, who gave us a most splendid entertainment, with a Ball at night, where all the beauties of the Settlement were present, the merry dance being continued until near daylight in the morning. On the 7th we returned to Calcutta, General St. Leger

declaring to me on his honour, that in the whole course of his life he had never spent a happier week.

I arrived at my house in Calcutta late in the evening where I found the following letter from Mr. Hunter, which had been sent in the afternoon, and occasioned me great uneasiness from the desponding language in which it was penned.

“MY DEAR HICKEY,

The game is up with your undone miserable, and most unhappy, aye every way undone and unhappy friend. Sir Alured Clarke has been buoying me up with hopes of serving me only to render the disappointment the more unexpected and insupportable. That you after such unexampled exertions and generous aids on my behalf should be a pecuniary sufferer to an extent I cannot ward off, cuts me to the very soul, and added to other heart-rending evils makes me look only to the cold grave for relief. I am hopeless—broken-hearted and in despair. This evening you will receive a small chest containing all the trifling articles of plate I possess; likewise my two saddle horses. Abdalla is well known, an Arab of high caste, and some value; the other a good common road horse. This, my greatly esteemed Hickey, is all I can do. Oh, how far short of common justice and how inadequate to my wishes! I am too well acquainted with your natural generosity of mind and philanthropy to be apprehending that you will detest my memory, on the contrary I am convinced you will feel for my misfortunes, make due allowances for the infirmities of human nature, and pity me. I should have been glad, had circumstances admitted, once more to have hugged you to my bosom, and to have thanked you, gratefully thanked you, for the generous friendship you have shewn to the miserable and lost

W. O. HUNTER.”

Conceiving this letter to have been written merely in a fit of melancholy, the moment after I had read it I wrote and sent off what I intended as a cheering, consolatory note, wherein I mentioned my having just returned from Chin-surah, and that I should be with him by half-past ten o'clock the following morning, when I should carry back his plate,

which I trusted I should continue often to use at his hospitable table: that I should also not only return his horses, but if I had any influence should compel him to mount his justly admired Abdalla every morning and ride off those gloomy habits he had lately seemed but too much disposed to yield to. I concluded by saying I should feel seriously offended if he suffered his disappointments to overcome his natural good sense, or lead him to an act of violence against those he might think had injured him. I added that I hoped to find him in good humour with himself and all the world, and that we should both live to spend some happy years together in old England.

The following morning at the moment I was stepping into my palankeen Mr. Scawen came to my door, to whom I called out that I could not stay to speak to him having promised to be with Hunter by half-past ten, and I was already beyond my time. Scawen thereupon said, "Then you may stay where you are, for poor Orby is gone for ever." Extremely shocked I returned into the house, when Scawen related the following particulars. That being on his way to Sir Alured Clarke's, where he proposed breakfasting, he stopped at Hunter's to ask if he would accompany him, when the servants said their master was not yet come out of his bedchamber, at which he (Scawen) was somewhat surprized, because he knew Hunter to be a remarkably early riser, and it was then near nine o'clock. He therefore desired the servants to go up to their master's room as perhaps he might be indisposed. The head bearer thereupon observed that he had made several attempts to get in but found the door fastened, which he had never before known to be locked. This account increased Scawen's fears. He immediately went upstairs, knocked several times at the door without receiving any answer, and upon listening thought he heard something like low and faint groans. He thereupon with the assistance of the servants forced open the door, when he beheld his poor friend laying upon his bed, with all his clothes on, apparently in the agonies of death.

Seawen instantly left the room to despatch persons in every direction for medical aid, which having done he returned to his dying friend, when he perceived an empty phial laying upon the edge of the bed, and taking it up by the smell he discovered that it had contained Laudanum. Hunter soon afterwards expired.

A Coroner's inquest was held when the Jury, after examining the servants and others, returned a verdict of lunacy.

At daylight in the morning of the 9th I, with a very numerous cavalcade of friends who loved and respected the unfortunate man when living, followed his corpse to the place of interment.

Sir William Dunkin and other gentlemen, who felt the peculiar circumstances under which I stood with respect to the deceased Mr. Hunter, gave it as their opinion that Sir Alured Clarke was in honour and conscience bound to reimburse me what I had actually expended on behalf of his relation, and which amount I had so advanced under a reasonable and well-founded belief that he, Sir Alured Clarke, would guarantee the repayment to me. They therefore recommended my applying to the honourable Knight of the Bath upon the subject, in compliance with which advice I addressed the following letter to him :

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR ALURED CLARKE, K.B., Commander-in-Chief, etc. etc.

SIR,

I hope the peculiarity of my situation and the very serious difficulties I am involved in by the melancholy event of Mr. Orby Hunter's death and the extraordinary circumstances attending my concerns with that unfortunate gentleman, will be deemed a sufficient excuse for taking the liberty of troubling you with this address. Throughout the unhappy business he was engaged in, and into which he was involved by the extraordinary iniquity and infamous machinations of an abandoned Hindostanee woman, I acted in the double capacity of professional adviser and confidential friend. Anxious as I was to assist him in every way my own resources were so limited that I had it

not in my power to advance the requisite cash for conducting his defence, but upon his repeated and unequivocal assurances that your Excellency would reimburse whatever might be advanced upon so emergent an occasion I, though not without considerable difficulty, obtained a loan of cash from an opulent native of Bengal, adequate to the call upon my own personal security which I had no hesitation in entering into from my not entertaining a doubt of Mr. Hunter's having your sanction for using your name, in the manner he did, and certain it is that under my conviction of having you, Sir, as my guarantee, I disbursed no less a sum than twelve thousand six hundred and seventy sicca rupees in Fees paid to his three Counsel and to the different officers of the Court, the particulars of which I have the honour to enclose hcrewith for your better information. I trust that your Excellency will consider me as standing in a very different situation from that of Mr. Hunter's other creditors, their debts having been incurred in the line of thoir trades with a view to their own emolument and advantage, while mine arose solely from my zealous wish and endeavours to vindicate the honour and character of a gentleman I conceived highly aggrieved and most injuriously aspersed, although I am free to own I advanced the cash in full confidence, from his assurances that I should be reimbursed by your Excellency. Notwithstanding the issue of the Trial was diametrically opposite to my sanguine hopes and expectation, it was nevertheless a molanoholy consolation to Mr. Hunter as well as to myself to hear the verdicts in both cases, universally condemned as the most scandalous and unfounded that ever were recorded in a Court of Justice.

I have only to add my hope that your Excellency will believe me when I declare that it is with considerable reluctance I make this application, and which nothing should have induced me to do did I not consider the claim as founded in strict justice. I have the honour to be with the utmost respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

W. HICKBY.

CALCUTTA,

17th June, 1797."

To this letter I, the next day, received the following laconic answer from Sir Alured's Secretary, Colonel Walter Cliffe :

" CALOUTTA,

" To WILLIAM HICKEY, ESQ ,

June 18th, 1797.

SIR,

By desire of Lieutenant-General Clarke I beg leave to acquaint you that he received your letter of the 17th inst , yesterday, enclosing a statement of your claims against the late unfortunate Mr. Hunter. The General desires me to say that however much he may regret the very distressing difficulties in which you are involved by means of Mr. Hunter, it is not his intencion in justice to himself and to those who have natural claims to his assistance, to pay any part of the demands that may be presented to him on Mr Hunter's account.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WALTER CLIFFE."

Upon receipt of the foregoing letter and consulting my legal friends relative to the two horses and the plate sent me in manner before mentioned by my deceased friend, they were unanimously of opinion that I was entitled in strict justice to convert them to my own use. I therefore immediately disposed of them by public auction. The plate and the horses produced upon sale sicca rupees four thousand one hundred, so that I remained upon this disastrous business minus eight thousand five hundred and seventy sicca rupees, independent of my own personal labour besides that of my clerks.

Sir Alured Clarke, I believe, thought it incumbent upon him, from my having been so great a sufferer in my zeal to serve his unhappy brother-in-law, to show me extraordinary attention, and once a week at least I received a card of invitation to dine with him ; besides which I was constantly invited to his formal or State entertainments, at all which parties, and indeed whenever and wherever we met, he always treated me with the most marked respect and politeness. This from a man in his elevated station was pleasant

enough, but certainly I should have preferred the being reimbursed those solid sicca rupees which I had advanced for his unhappy relation.

Although the General would not part with his cash it was some gratification to me to be always present with the first people of the Settlement at his house. He kept an excellent table, but had some peculiarities that gave great offence to several of his guests; for instance, he could not bear to see any dish removed from one part of the table to another, nor any person to attempt carving what stood before him until the whole course was completely set out and arranged; to take salt with the point of a knife deranged him beyond measure, and frequently occasioned rather rude speeches from him. Upon the latter point I once witnessed a ludicrous circumstance. A young Writer in the Company's service, with whose family Sir Alured had long been intimately connected in England, upon his arrival in Bengal had the run of the General's table, whenever he pleased. This young gentleman being one day at dinner when the servants had from forgetfulness omitted to put salt spoons into all the salt cellars, which of course the General was not aware of, he upon observing the youth help himself to salt with his knife, called out in an angry tone, "It is not well bred, Charles, to use a knife for taking salt. I am sure you would not have thought of doing such a thing at your father's table." The boy very significantly and archly replied, "No, sir, certainly I should not, for my father always had salt spoons upon his table." This created a loud burst of laughter from those near the youth, at which Sir Alured at first seemed displeased, but upon ascertaining the fact he very good-humouredly joined in the laugh, though at his own expence.

One of Sir Alured's aides-de-camp was a nephew of his own, a sister's son, named Walter Griffith, who though not more than two-and-twenty years of age, had a Troop of Dragoons, and at the time that the regiment embarked for the East Indies was the Senior officer, and of course had the command of it. He was a good-natured creature

as ever lived, plain and blunt to a great degree, and although generally considered to be a prodigious favourite of his uncle's, the latter never let an opportunity pass of giving him a lecture or saying a sharp thing.

Shortly after Sir Alured's arrival in Bengal his nephew, in compliance with the fashion of those days, thought it requisite to set up a hookah. The first day that the apparatus for smoking made its appearance at Sir Alured's dinner table, he, Sir Alured, with considerable asperity looking at his nephew, who sat nearly opposite to him, said, "Pray, sir, give me leave to ask what that may be?" "A hookah," bluntly replied Captain Griffith. "A hookah," echoed the General, "it is a useless if not an offensive thing. I presume, sir, you have adopted it in your capacity of Captain of Dragoons, at least I hope not as my aide-de-camp." This presumption not absolutely requiring an answer, the Captain made none, whereupon his uncle continued, "Pray, sir, have you a moonshee?" "No," said Griffith. "Then," added the General, "I should recommend you, sir, to lay aside that superfluous apparatus until you do get one, that you may study the Persian language amidst the only volumes I believe you will ever cut a figure in—Smoke! I understand a hookah and a moonshec should always go together." Captain Griffith, with the utmost composure, continued to puff away at his hookah and the subject dropped.

At the end of July my guest, Captain Arthur Forrest, left me in order to join his Corps upon the Coast of Coromandel.

About the same period a discovery was made of a most serious nature relative to the plundering and secreting of letters. The different branches of my family, in common with others, had made frequent complaints, of my not writing to them nor taking the least notice of many letters written by them to me, which letters in fact never had reached me, and I believe we mutually suspected each other of having pretended to write without ever having set pen to paper. The case was this: Upon Sir John Shore's

assuming the Government, economy became the order of the day, the new Governor-General cutting and slashing at salaries and doing away offices in all directions. Amongst an infinite variety of what he was pleased to term "Reforms," one was the dismissal of about five-and-twenty gentlemen who, although not absolutely or regularly in the Company's service, had during a period of upwards of eighteen years been employed by the members of Government in different departments of the Council house as extra clerks or assistants, with monthly allowances of from one hundred and fifty sicca rupees up to five hundred, according to the nature of their services, and in the stead of these respectable and trustworthy persons thus improperly and inconsiderately turned adrift, after having made themselves perfect masters of their respective duties and performing the same to the entire satisfaction and approbation of their superiors, not unfrequently receiving the thanks of the Court of Directors themselves for the zeal they shewed, a parcel of despicable and vagabond Portuguese fellows were substituted merely because they undertook to execute the same business for twenty or at most thirty sicca rupees a month. From the hour these wretches were so engaged their whole thoughts were turned to every species of robbery.

It becoming necessary that the Secretary's apartments in the Council house should undergo some repairs, the furniture was ordered to be removed into adjacent rooms. Upon taking down an immense large paper case, which had remained a fixture in the same spot for many years, there were some thousands of letters found behind it, many of which had been written in Bengal with a view to being forwarded to England, and others written in England to their connections in India, the whole of both descriptions having been broken open and several Bank of England notes, cash, and other valuable property taken therefrom. This discovery caused a universal alarm and uproar throughout the Settlement; a very strict and minute investigation was immediately set on foot, but for a length of time

without being able to fix the guilt upon any particular individuals. At last two of the perpetrators of this most flagitious offence, tempted by the high bribes offered, betrayed their companions in iniquity and impeached them. From the testimony of those two villains it was clearly ascertained that every Portuguese who had been employed had betrayed his trust and were all equally involved in guilt. But as the actual robberies could not be fixed upon anyone in particular, they could only be tried for breaches of trust of which, being all found guilty, they received the severest punishment the Law would admit of for such a charge. The whole Settlement were delighted at hearing there were a great many of Sir John Shore's and Mr. George Hilario Barlow, the then Secretary's, letters amongst those purloined. Mr. Barlow having been an active promoter of the plan for dismissing the gentlemen thence employed in the Council House, and substituting a parcel of low, unprincipled Portuguese, who by their iniquitous conduct destroyed the peace of many worthy families.

An expedition which had been preparing for during several months, consisting of both Naval and Land Forces, was in the month of August completely formed and ordered to sail, General St. Leger being appointed to the command of the whole detachment. His friends, Colonel Wellesley and Sherbrooke, both of the 33rd Regiment, which formed part of the Corps, also going with him. The destination of this army was supposed to be either Manilla or the Mauritias. They were to rendezvous at Prince of Wales's Island, where additional troops from the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were to join them, as were also several vessels of war. The Bengal Troops were formed of picked men from the most efficient Battalions of Sepoys.

Having received early information of this expedition and that the 33rd Regiment would certainly go upon it, I mentioned the circumstance to Mr. Seawen, under an idea that something might be done for his nephew Blunt, when he immediately expressed a wish that I would endeavour to procure for him the Chaplaincy of the 33rd. I accord-

ingly applied to General St. Leger, who advised me to speak to Colonel Wellesley who commanded the Regiment, and he (General St. Leger) would support my recommendation of Mr. Blunt. I did so and Colonel Wellesley in the handsomest manner forthwith appointed Mr. Blunt to the situation

This incomprehensible young man, having thus obtained a situation of credit and emolument, embarked with the troops, but had not been more than three days at sea, when he got abominably drunk, and in that disgraceful condition exposed himself to both soldiers and sailors, running out of his cabin stark naked into the midst of them, talking all sorts of bawdy and ribaldry, and singing scraps of the most blackguard and indecent songs, so as to render himself a common laughing stock. The Commander of the ship, who was personally attached to Mr. Blunt, could not help feeling the disgrace that must attend a Clergyman's thus forgetting what was due to his station, he however mildly remonstrated and prevailed upon him to retire to his cabin. The following morning, when the fumes of the liquor had evaporated, he repeated his remonstrances so forcibly as to distress Mr. Blunt beyond measure. Upon being told of the irregularities and follies he had committed the preceding evening, he seemed quite overcome, declared he was ruined and undone beyond redemption, and never more could venture to shew his face. He shut himself up in his cabin, refused to admit any person whomsoever, and would not join the mess at meals.

The Captain of the ship as well as the officers of the Regiment being truly concerned to find Mr. Blunt took the matter so much to heart, exerted their utmost efforts to get him amongst them again, but without success. The Captain, finding his persuasions fruitless, he with great good nature sent a boat on board the ship in which Colonel Wellesley was, to state to him, as Commanding Officer of the Regiment, the miserable situation of the Chaplain and that he really thought the young gentleman's life was in danger. Colonel Wellesley, with equal kindness, instantly

got into a boat and went to the vessel on board of which Mr. Blunt was. As he would not appear when sent for, pleading indisposition, Colonel Wellesley went down to his cabin, where finding him in the most melancholy and desponding condition, and positively refusing to take any food or nourishment, he talked of the folly of such behaviour, endeavouring to put the poor man in better humour with himself. He told him that what had passed was not of the least consequence as no one would think the worse of him for the little irregularities committed in a moment of forgetfulness : that the most correct and cautious men were liable to be led astray by convivial society, and no blame ought to attach to a cursory debauch. In short Colonel Wellesley laboured to reconcile Mr. Blunt to himself, treating the circumstance as by no means calling for the deep contrition expressed and felt by him. Mr. Blunt returned his grateful thanks to Colonel Wellesley for his humane conduct and kind intentions, but still contended he was for ever ruined and never ought to appear more in society. So seriously did this error operate upon the poor man's mind that although surrounded by partial friends, he sank under it, and in ten days after the circumstance had occurred he departed this life, having actually fretted himself to death.

The Bengal detachment had reached Prince of Wales's Island and were there joined by the reinforcements from the other Presidencies, with a superior officer to General St. Leger to take the chief command, and were in hourly expectation of being ordered to sail, when a dispatch arrived from England, forbidding the plan, whatever it was, being carried into effect ; it was consequently abandoned and the Troops returned to their respective stations.

My respected friend, Sir William Dunkin, called upon me one morning, observing he was come to have some serious conversation with me relative to the enormity of my domestic disbursements, the magnitude of which he had no idea of until mentioned to him the preceding day by my partner Mr. Turner, who had complained of my drawing so largely from the joint stock as if continued would make

it necessary for him to separate from me, and pursue his profession on his own account. As I could not help feeling mortified at such an intimation being made through a third person, though so respectable a one as Sir William Dunkin, I was cold and reserved in my manner, which Sir William instantly perceiving he apologized for his interference, saying it was his great regard for me that had alone induced it, but as he clearly saw I did not consider his motive in a proper light he never would add another word upon the subject.

In consequence of what Sir William Dunkin had said, I addressed a letter to Mr. Turner, complaining of the mode he had taken to let me know he was dissatisfied with my conduct, and concluded my letter by assuring him his continuing the partnership or at once putting an end to it was a matter of the most perfect indifference to me. For notwithstanding it was certainly true that by the Co-partnership I had been materially relieved from the labour and drudgery I had previously undergone, it was equally true that since it had taken place I had not made near so much money as when alone. To this Turner replied angrily, and we determined to dissolve the partnership which was carrying into effect, but stopped through the interference of Mr. Shaw, who became a mediator between us, and settled a fresh contract that mutually satisfied Turner and me. The connection was therefore once more amicably renewed.

CHAPTER XI

1797

A PRINCE'S GENEROSITY. THE DEATH OF EDMUND BURKE. HIS FOUNDATION OF PENN COLLEGE. THE STORY OF MISS RAWLINSON AND MR. REES

IN the month of October a circumstance occurred that increased the coolness that had for some time subsisted between the pompous purse-proud Mr. Burroughs and me. He had been in the habit of affecting to address and treat Sir William Dunkin when upon the Bench in a supercilious and sometimes contemptuous manner, which had been noticed by every one about the Court, especially by Sir William's son-in-law, Mr. Macnaghten. One day in particular Burroughs had behaved with such marked impertinence towards Sir William that Mr. Macnaghten addressed him across the table in these strong terms, "Mr. Burroughs, you are an impudent blackguard and scoundrel, as such I will treat you," and turning to me, who sat next to him at the time, he added, aloud, "I will pull the rascal by the nose and kick him the moment he is outside the door of the Court."

I saw Macnaghten was too much irritated for anything I could urge to take effect, I therefore waited patiently until his wrath in some measure subsided. Upon observing him to be somewhat cooler I exerted my persuasive powers to prevent his being guilty of what, upon reflection, he must feel derogatory to his own character, as a gentleman: the giving a blow to a person holding the rank in society Mr. Burroughs did. At first he was excessively outrageous, swearing that nothing should prevent his putting the threat

into execution, let the consequences be what they might. By perseverance, however, I so far prevailed as to gain his consent previously to committing any act of violence against the offender to call upon him to apologize for the indecacy of his behaviour to the Judge (this by the by I was, in my own mind, quite sure the despicable wretch would submit to do), and should he refuse a proper explanation then to do as he might think right. This he agreed to, provided I would accompany him to Mr. Burroughs's house, which I consented to, being really afraid to trust my violent and irascible friend to go alone. Upon the adjournment of the Court we accordingly proceeded together in our palanqueens to Mr. Burroughs's. He not being yet come home, we entered and sat down to await his arrival, during which interval I renewed my entreaties that he (Macnaghten) would be moderate and keep his temper of which I acknowledge I entertained considerable fears. He faithfully promised I should have no reason to complain as he certainly would follow my advice which he felt the propriety of.

In about a quarter of an hour Mr. Burroughs came in. Upon entering the room in which we were he made a very formal bow and turned exceedingly pale. Mr. Macnaghten immediately walking close up to him, the following short dialogue ensued.

Macnaghten: "I am come to insist on the amplest apology from you, sir, presuming most wantonly and grossly to insult a near and dear relative of mine."

Burroughs (here interrupting him): "Upon my word, Mr. Macnaghten, I am utterly at a loss to conjecture to what you can allude, be assured you labour under some palpable mistake."

Macnaghten: "I take leave to say, Mr. Burroughs, that I labour under no mistake, nor do I conceive you think I do, should you do so, it is not a little extraordinary; however, sir, what I require an apology for is your impudently presuming to insult my father-in-law, Sir William Dunkin, when exercising his official duties as a Judge upon

the Bench of the Supreme Court, a situation in which you must have felt conscious he could not himself resent your impertinence, and you might with equal safety to your person have insulted a woman of character in her own drawing-room, which no one but a low poltroon could be capable of."

Burroughs: "I declare, upon my honour, I am not conscious of having expressed myself in any improper or uncivil language to Sir William Dunkin, for whom, both in his judicial and individual capacity, I entertain the sincerest respect and regard."

Macnaghten (very indignantly): "I assert, sir, that you did use most indecorous and unwarrantable language. I shall not condescend to call any evidence in support of what I thus assert, sufficient is it that I heard your insolent speeches."

Burroughs (with the most abject humility): "If in the heat of my professional duty and zeal for the interest of my client I made use of any expression that could hurt the feelings of Sir William Dunkin, I can truly say I sincerely lament it, and never entertained the most distant idea of giving him offence; sorry I am he should for a moment think me capable of such improper conduct."

Upon this conciliating speech I observed, "Surely that is quite sufficient," and taking Mr. Macnaghten by the arm, said, "Come, my friend, as Mr. Burroughs has thus strongly disclaimed all intention of intending to be uncivil, surely nothing more can be required." To which he, with considerable warmth, replied, "Not so fast, if you please, I have still something to say to this worthy gentleman," and walking close up to Mr. Burroughs, whom I verily thought he was going to pull by the nose, he however only said, though in a rather fierce tone of voice, "You have upon the present occasion so fully apologized that I cannot but be satisfied, but you must be more upon your guard in future, sir; a repetition of anything like what occurred this day shall neither pass unnoticed nor unpunished, of that you may be persuaded."

The trembling advocate repeated that it was very far from his wish or intention ever to offend Sir William Dunkin. "Be it so," bluffly observed Macnaghten, and we were retiring when Burroughs began muttering something about the honour of a gentleman and that he was not to be dictated to. Macnaghten, who had hold of my arm, instantly let go, and marching quickly up to Burroughs, asked, what he was muttering about as to the honour of a gentleman and whether he felt an inclination to recant from the apology he had already made, which, if he thought proper, he was at full liberty to do. The terrified pleader instantly replied, "Certainly not," he had spoken as he felt. I then once more took my friend, Mr. Macnaghten, by the arm, and with some difficulty persuaded him to leave the house. Never was I before witness to such a scene nor to such pusillanimity and abject meanness as Mr. Burroughs betrayed.

The next day in Court he looked with much hauteur at me, which I was not backward in returning, with interest, and from that time until his departure for England we never exchanged a word or paid each other the common compliment of the hat. Neither Sir William Dunkin nor Mr. Macnaghten had ever been more than formally and distantly polite to Mr. Burroughs from their having both known him in Ireland and finding it impossible to respect his character.

By the *Albion*, East Indiaman, which arrived in September from England, having been only three months and four days making the voyage, we received the disagreeable news of the Emperor of Germany's having made a separate peace with the Corsican usurper Bonaparte, likewise what was still more distressing to us as Britons, the alarming mutiny of our seamen, a piece of intelligence that spread consternation and dismay throughout the Settlement in Asia. The *Albion* also brought us information that when she left Portsmouth it was confidently reported that Mr. Royds would be nominated to a seat upon the Bench of the Supreme Court, and in October following, the ship *Lord Thurlow*

brought out his patent, wherein he was styled "Sir John Royds, Knight," having received that honour by proxy. On the 22nd of the same month, being the first day of Term, he took the oaths and his seat under the customary salute from the ramparts of Fort William.

By the *Lord Thurlow*, Mr. John Pascal Larkins, nephew to my friend Captain John Larkins, with whom I went to Madras in the year 1791, came out, being appointed a writer upon the Bengal Establishment. He was the eldest son of Captain Thomas Larkins. From his being thus related to two persons whom I greatly respected I showed him every attention in my power.

During the periodical rains of this year, the Vizier of Lucknow, Azaphat Dowlah, departed this life, an event from which serious disturbances, in that part of the country, were apprehended, it being supposed that a contest must ensue, as to a successor to the Musnud. Nothing, however, of the sort occurred, his adopted son, Sydaat Ally, quietly stepped into the situation without the smallest opposition from any quarter, which was probably owing to Sydaat Ally's being avowedly supported by the East India Company.

Sydaat Ally was a fine personable man, in the prime of life, who had been brought up from infancy much in the society of the English to whom he pretended to be wonderfully attached, but which many persons doubted the sincerity of. Be that as it may, much use has been made of his influence for benefiting the Company, especially during the government of Lord Wellesley. His Highness speaks the English language fluently. For a few years prior to his ascending the throne, he resided at a Garden house, beautifully situated upon the point of two noble reaches of the river Hooghley, exactly opposite to Colonel Watson's Docks at Kiderpore, which residence he had purchased from Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Kyd, I having been employed to draw the conveyance. When attending to witness the execution of the deeds, the Nabob (Sydaat Ally), then living in Calcutta, after paying down the

purchase money, which was forty thousand sicca rupees, and the title deeds being delivered to the purchaser, he, whilst holding them in his hand, very good-humouredly said to Colonel Kyd, "This property being by these instruments transferred from you, Colonel, to me, I do now voluntarily promise you that if ever I rise to fill the Musnud, the moment I do it shall revert to you, and again become yours free of all expence, as I shall request your reacceptance of it as a mark of my friendship." Colonel Kyd thanked him for his politeness, considering the speech merely as a parcel of empty unmeaning words.

Contrary to expectation Sydaat Ally did attain the object of his ambition. At the time of his elevation Colonel Kyd happened to be upon a survey of some military works in the neighbourhood of Lucknow, and without at all thinking of the above stated promise, he with the other English gentlemen of the station attended at the Durbar of Sydaat Ally, as a point of ceremonious etiquette, to offer their congratulations upon that event. The Nabob, after receiving the party in a very dignified manner, though with the utmost kindness, and having gone through the usual compliments, he turned to Colonel Kyd, whom, taking by the hand, he addressed in these words: "I am not unmindful, Colonel, of what I said when I purchased the Garden house near Calcutta from you. From this day it once more becomes your property, together with an additional quantity of one hundred and fifty begahs of ground, which I have since bought from different persons and added to the Garden. Give directions that the requisite papers may be prepared and sent up to me and I will sign them. In the interim I call you all, gentlemen, that are present, to witness that from this hour the house and land I have been speaking of belongs to Colonel Kyd." I accordingly drew fresh deeds which were duly executed, and Colonel Kyd again got possession of the valuable estate.

The deceased Azaphat Dowlah was the person of whom the following anecdote was related: An English officer of rank being upon a visit to the Vizier a hunting party was

made for his amusement ; after which the Vizier boasted of the excellency of a double-barrelled gun he had just received from England, which carried a single ball to an extraordinary distance and with the greatest certainty, "as I will convince you," added he, and putting the piece to his shoulder he discharged it. The officer, observing a man in that direction instantly to fall, with much anxiety and distress of mind, exclaimed, "Good God, what have you done ? I fear your Highness has shot an unfortunate man." "A man," exclaimed the Vizier with the utmost coolness, "it is only a washerman !"

In the beginning of November, 1797, I received the afflicting news of Mr. Edmund Burke's death. My letters informed me that he never had been himself after losing his much-loved, promising and only son Richard. Mr. Burke had, a few months prior to his son's death, retired from the bustle of public life, having quitted Parliament and put that darling child in his place, over whose progress as a politician he was watching, with the same anxious solicitude as he had shewn to him through his youthful days, when the young man suddenly fell into a decline so rapid in its progress, as to terminate his existence in a few weeks after the disease commenced. Mr. Burke, who added to his other uncommon qualifications was a genuine and sincere Christian, apparently bowed with humility and resignation to the dispensation of an all-wise and beneficent providence. He could not, however, prevent the influence of grief, of heart-rending sorrow, upon his mortal frame. In spite of religion, in spite of a more than common share of fortitude, the weight of affliction so deeply wounded him as gradually to undermine his naturally strong constitution. His most excellent wife and all his valuable friends perceived with deep concern that he was fast sinking to the grave. Physicians were consulted, medicines resorted to. Mr. Burke, in compliance with the wishes of those he knew loved and respected him, submitted patiently to all that was recommended, though himself conscious that his case admitted not of relief from human aid. As he evidently

became weaker and weaker, his medical gentlemen ordered him to Bath, whither he went, but without deriving the smallest benefit. He therefore returned to his own seat at Butler's Court, near Beaconsfield, in the Spring of 1797.

The short remainder of his invaluable life was principally occupied in promoting the success of a scheme he had a little before set on foot, and which he had much at heart. This was an establishment for the maintenance and education of orphan male children of those French emigrants who had entered into the British service, and there lost their lives while exerting their personal valour in support of the cause of the family of their every way unfortunate and inhumanly murdered sovereign Louis the Sixteenth. Many of these worthy and lamented men had perished in the ill-contrived and worse conducted expedition to Quiberon, leaving their children wholly destitute and friendless.

Mr. Burke, with a benevolence and philanthropy that did him honour, exerted his influence with the great and opulent to raise sufficient money to purchase, or take upon a long lease, a capital house situated in the beautiful elevated and salubrious village of Penn in Buckinghamshire, distant four miles from his own mansion, to promote and further which plan he subscribed a handsome sum from his moderate fortune. The house in question being accordingly taken was properly fitted up, suitable teachers were provided, being chiefly selected from the miserable Clergy of France who had been driven from their native blood-stained land by the horrible excesses and savage cruelties of the odious and abominable Revolution. Sixty fine boys of the foregoing description were there received, clothed, fed and educated, all of whom but for this glorious Institution would have been left destitute, forlorn and unprotected. Mr. Burke until within a week of his death, daily visited the Penn Seminary, or College, as it was generally called, himself superintending and regulating the most trivial points respecting the interior management and accommodation of its unfortunate juvenile inhabitants, many of whom were immediate descendants of the noblest families of France.

Having satisfied himself that the plan must answer the best of purposes, conscious also that his own glass was nearly run out, he was indefatigable in his endeavours to fix the College upon a permanent footing. From his persuasive powers he interested the Dukes of Portland and Devonshire, Earl Fitzwilliam, and other men of rank, so much upon the subject as to see the Establishment taken up and supported by Government, which in his last hours afforded him the highest gratification.

In the night of the 9th of July the soul of this wonderful man took its flight to the regions of eternal bliss, to which a strictly virtuous and every way honourable life fully entitled him. His funeral, which took place on Saturday the 15th of the same month, was attended by a host of noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank, amongst whom were the Dukes of Portland, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Richmond, Earls Fitzwilliam, Temple, Westmoreland, Cholmondeley, Carlisle, Radnor and Stanhope, Lords Loughborough, and Upper Ossory, most of whom, with many other Peers and Commoners, went from the Parliament House, as fast as post horses could carry them, to Beaconsfield, for owing to a press of business, both Houses contrary to the usual practice sat that day. The melancholy procession, therefore, did not leave Butler's Court until past nine o'clock at night, proceeding from thence in sad and solemn order to the parish church of Beaconsfield, where the corpse was interred in a family vault where the mortal remains of his brother and his son were already deposited.

Monsieur Cazales, a French gentleman of superior talents and distinguished rank under the Monarchy, who was upon a visit to Mr. Burke at the time of his lamented death, wrote the following well applied panegyric upon the occasion in French, which was translated into English by the well-known and celebrated Monsieur Peltier thus, "Died at his house at Beaconsfield in Buckinghamshire, on Sunday, the 9th of July, with that simple dignity, that unostentatious magnanimity so consonant to the tenour of his life and actions, The Right Honourable Edmund Burke. There

never was a more beautiful alliance between virtue and talents ! All his conceptions were grand, all his sentiments generous. The great leading trait of his character, and what gave it its energy and its colour, was that strong hatred of vice ; which is no other than the passionate love of virtue. It breathes in all his writings ; it was the guide of all his actions. But even the force of *his* eloquence was insufficient to transfuse it into the weak and perverse minds of his contemporaries. This caused all the miseries of Europe. This rendered of no effect towards her salvation the sublimest talents, the greatest and rarest virtues that the beneficence of Providence ever concentrated in a single character for the benefit of mankind. But Mr Burke was too superior to the age in which he lived. His prophetic genius only astonished the Nation which it ought to have governed."

Penn School or College has now been established upwards of sixteen years, never having had less than forty-six pupils in it, and in that long space of time there never has been a single complaint made by any neighbour of their house, or by any person whomsoever, against any one of the youthful students ! an incontrovertible proof not only of the care, skill, and attention of the different preceptors and superintendents, but also of the good dispositions and mildness of manners of the truly deserving and greatly to be pitied pupils. They are chiefly educated for the Army and Navy, in both which several have succeeded in the highest degree : a few studied law, and two, I think, physio. All have universally done credit to the memory of their illustrious, their benevolent patron and founder.

In the middle of the same month of November, General St. Leger returned to Calcutta from Prince of Wales's Island, and my intercourse with him and his family was immediately resumed. Shortly after this second arrival, both he and Captain Bradshaw were attacked with violent fevers which confined them to their respective chambers many days, the General for six-and-thirty hours being considered in imminent danger.

In December, General St. Leger was appointed to command at the station of Dinapore, near Patna, previous to his departure for which place he made me faithfully promise to visit and spend some time with him in the following rains ; I was extremely concerned to lose his society and that of his Staff. The General and Captain Bradshaw promised to correspond with me and kept their words. Captain Bradshaw was an uncommonly clever writer, nor was General St. Leger much inferior to him ; I have often felt vexed with myself for not preserving their letters, but I destroyed the whole of them, together with many other private papers I now heartily wish I had kept, previous to my embarking for England.

I now lived much in the society of Colonel Sherbrooke, to whom I had been introduced by Mr. Nathaniel Penry Rees, who had been educated at the same school. Rees was the son of Doctor Rees, the learned Dissenting Minister, and Editor or compiler of the *Encyclopædia*, but Penry had not profited from his respectable and worthy father's precepts or example, being a sad profligate fellow. With talents beyond what falls to the lot of men in general he was sadly indolent ; he was besides addicted to gaming, and every other species of vice and debauchery. Being an uncommonly lively companion, a very liberal and pleasant host, he was never in want of guests, his table was daily filled, his expences consequently large. He had been bred, as the phrase is, to the Law, having served an irregular clerkship in the office of Mr. Cromwell, a City solicitor in great practice, but from his propensity to dissipation and folly, his father found it would be impossible to support him in England. He therefore sent him to that common receptacle of all abandoned and undone men, the East Indies !

Soon after Mr. Nathaniel Penry Rees's arrival in Bengal, Sir Robert Chambers, who had been well acquainted with his father, gave him an appointment in the Supreme Court with a handsome salary annexed to it, which however, considerable as it was, proved very unequal to his disbursements. He, of course, became seriously involved in debt,

being at times not only threatened but actually sued, yet when his creditors had obtained judgments against him, and might at any hour they thought proper have taken out writs of *Capias ad satisfaciendum*, or execution against him, such were the persuasive powers he possessed, and such a degree of fun, of real wit and humour was there about him, that he always prevented the last serious process of the Law being carried into effect against him, pacifying the most exasperated and clamorous of his demandants literally by laughing them out of their ill temper, or, if in an instance now and then he found himself likely to fail by ribaldry, he would then contrive to pay a proportion of what was due, which frequent success at the hazard table enabled him to do.

I upon one occasion saw Rees uncommonly hard pressed by a justly irritated creditor, Mr. Anthony Lambert, who swore he would pursue him with the utmost rigour of the Law, and I conceived he would inevitably be lodged in prison. When the business was drawing to a crisis, he took me into his study where, pointing to three very large book-cases filled with valuable books which had cost him upwards of fifteen thousand sicca rupees, he with the utmost *sang froid* said, "Those must go to the hammer, my friend," and sitting down at his desk he instantly wrote the following, "To be peremptorily sold by auction on the 19th of December instant, by Messrs. Dring and Company, at their Great Room, the elegant, rare, well assorted and truly valuable library of a gentleman of Calcutta, consisting of between three and four thousand volumes of the best British and Foreign authors, the whole being superbly bound and in the most perfect order and condition, the said gentleman having just now more occasion for money than books." This advertisement he sent to the different Calcutta newspapers. The sale took place, the books went off remarkably well, yielding him fully sufficient to liquidate the debt due to Mr. Lambert.

This volatile fellow, about eighteen months after he had been in Calcutta, married a natural daughter of the famous

Mr. Gregory's by a Hindostanee woman, a well-educated and excellent body whom everybody that knew respected, receiving a handsome fortune with her, the principal of which was luckily settled upon her and any issue she might bear. In due time she was delivered of a daughter, soon after whose birth there arrived from Europe a young lady who had been the favourite and companion of Mrs. Rees when at school in England. Her name was Rawlinson, sprung from an ancient and wealthy family of Lancashire. In consequence of this early friendship Mrs. Rees applied for and obtained her husband's consent to invite Miss Rawlinson to reside with them, and she became their guest. In a very few months after she so lived with them, Rees by his pleasantries and insinuating manners, gained the affections of Miss Rawlinson, nor was it long after ere she fell a sacrifice to her own fondness and his arts.

The illicit connection being discovered by the forsaken wife, Mrs. Rees in consequence left the house, going for protection to the house of her father's agent, he (the father) having been many years in England. Rees likewise left the house, taking his fair and frail friend, to a retired spot on the opposite side of the river. Miss Rawlinson was exceedingly pretty, very accomplished, and of most infatuating address. Notwithstanding she had thus forfeited her honour and submitted to become the concubine of Rees, her behaviour was at all times so correct, so every way proper as effectually to discourage and wholly prevent any unwarrantable liberties ever being taken with her, or even indelicate language used in her presence, by the dissolute companions of Rees who frequented his house. Her attachment to her undoer was most sincere and ardent, and I verily believe she was as faithful to him as ever woman was to a husband. I was avowedly a prodigious favourite; she always received me with the utmost kindness and attention, acknowledging her heartfelt gratitude for the pains she knew I took to check if I could not absolutely cure her darling Penry of his sad propensity to gambling. Often did she declare I was the only person she saw with pleasure

enter their doors. She certainly did me no more than justice in saying and thinking I exerted my utmost endeavours to curb the follies of Rees, for whom I felt a real regard, of which he himself was fully conscious.

At Rees's retreat I frequently met Colonel Sherbrooke, who used to send the Band of his Regiment, and a very capital one it was, over to play for us during dinner and through the evening, making a few hours pass away delightfully. The same party occasionally visited my little château at Chinsurah, where nought but harmony and good humour prevailed. Upon this young lady's going astray in manner above mentioned, she dropped her own name, assuming that of Rivers. Rees and she continued to live together with the greatest affection for nearly five years, when his health began to decline. He was attacked with a dysentery, which though unusually slow in its progress, continued to harass him, and would not yield to any medicine. After being reduced to an absolute skeleton by the disease, the Physicians admitted his case was hopeless, at least that they could do nothing more. But as an only remaining chance of recovery, they recommended change of climate and trial of the sea air. He therefore resolved to make the experiment totally regardless of his being more than sixty thousand sicca rupees in debt, and the probability that some of the creditors might interfere between him and the projected voyage; upon such circumstances he never condescended to bestow a thought, and prepared for his trip with the utmost composure; nor did anyone offer to molest him. He engaged a passage for himself and his elegant companion on board a noble vessel called the *Althea*. Although in the most reduced and miserable state of weakness and debility his spirits did not flag in the slightest degree. Miss Rawlinson, alias Rivers, whose attentions during his tedious illness had been unremittingly tender and affectionate, seemed infinitely more afflicted at his situation than he was himself. The Doctors complained that he did not give them or their prescriptions fair play for that the moment he felt free from actual severe pain, he

totally forgot he was an invalid, eating and drinking everything that came in his way without regard to the consequences. These sort of remarks he answered with ridicule, saying that as it was a settled matter the whole power of the *materia medica* could not save him, and die he must, it was a piece of unnecessary severity to refuse him the gratification of eating when he was hungry or drinking when thirsty.

Captain Roberts, who commanded the *Althea*, treated Rees with the most friendly attention, and for the last three months of his life had him watched so closely as, with the powerful influence of Miss Rivers, effectually preventing anything in the way of victuals appearing before him unless sanctioned by the approbation of the Surgeon of the ship, to which precaution he owed the existing so long as he did. Still, however, and notwithstanding all the care of his friends, he gradually and visibly sunk, becoming weaker and weaker, so much so that when within five days' sail of the Island of St. Helena he had not strength enough left to raise himself in his bed, his death being hourly expected, of which circumstance he was himself perfectly aware. But still his usual flow of spirits never forsook him. True he lay helpless upon his back, but that did not prevent his cracking jokes and appearing as gay and cheerful as when in perfect health.

While in this melancholy state of bodily infirmity, the chief officer went into his cabin to ask how he was, and in the course of conversation with Miss Rivers, mentioned that an uncommonly fine fat sheep had been killed that morning. Rees, who had been attentively listening to what passed, the moment the officer left the cabin, sent a message to the Captain requesting immediately to see him. Captain Roberts, imagining his dying passenger had something of importance relative to his private affairs to communicate, instantly obeyed the summons, when upon entering the invalid's cabin, he with much earnestness addressed him thus: "My dear Roberts, I understand you have this morning killed a remarkably fine Bengal sheep. Now, as

you must very well know, that I cannot hold out many hours longer, and no evil can therefore ensue from a compliance with my request, do, my good fellow, gratify me with a mutton chop, for upon my soul I am cursed hungry."

Captain Roberts, a good deal surprized at the oddity of the request, felt at a loss what to say, but upon Rees's repeating it with a strong, firm voice, he answered, "Certainly, my dear Rees, if you insist upon it, you shall have a chop, but permit me to suggest that a boiled chicken or a little weak broth would be better suited for you." "Psha! Damn your broth and your boiled chicken," replied Rees, "I desire no such execrable stuff, and as to being better for me, that is all cudree fal lal, sheer nonsense, I am dished beyond redemption, completely done up at the least for this world; by this hour to-morrow, instead of my tongue running as it does at present, a dozen hungry sharks will be nibbling at the wooden case in which I presume your humanity will induce you to enclose my bag of bones, anxious to scrape a leg or an arm, and gobble up guts if they can find any." The mutton chops were accordingly dressed and sent to his bedside. He eat two with as much apparent pleasure and appetite as ever man did, though so debilitated he could not sit upright without a person on each side to support him. Having finished his meal, he cordially thanked Captain Roberts, shook him affectionately by the hand, and said, "You have done all that was possible for me, God bless you. Good-bye to you, my worthy fellow, my dying request is that you will take care of this most excellent little woman who will severely feel my loss. Oh, Roberts, do comfort and console the charming girl!" In three hours afterwards he drew his last breath. Captain Roberts with a benevolent consideration for the feelings of the unhappy Miss Rivers, instead of launching the corpse into the ocean, caused it to be put into a puncheon of rum, and thus conveyed it to St. Helena, where it was landed and interred in the burial-ground of the Island, with a tombstone over the grave.

To return to Colonel Sherbrooke, of whom I was speaking

when carried away from the subject of my recollection of that extraordinary man, Rees. The Colonel frequently invited me to dine with him at the Regimental Mess, where either he or Colonel Wellesley made a point of being present five or six times a week. They lived inimitably well, always sending their guests away with a liberal quantity of the best claret. They generally entertained from five to ten guests daily at their table. But the most dangerous parties in point of success were those that took place at Colonel Sherbrooke's country residence, a small mansion at the pretty village of Aylpore, three miles from Calcutta, where I witnessed some extreme hard drinking, once in particular at a party to which Colonel Sherbrooke had invited me a fortnight prior to the day of the dinner. Finding myself somewhat indisposed on the morning of the day appointed for the dinner, and wholly unfit to encounter such men as General (then Colonel) Hay Macdoul, Colonel Wellesley, Mr Macdonald, thentofore Chief of Prince of Wales's Island, all of whom with a few other equally strong heads I had heard were to be of the party, I wrote a note to Colonel Sherbrooke saying I was too ill to join his jovial crew, therefore begged he would excuse my non-attendance.

Instead of answering this note in writing, Colonel Sherbrooke ordered his carriage and drove to my house, where finding me busily employed at my desk, he observed I could not be very ill as I was able to work so hard, and therefore return with him I must and should. In vain were all my remonstrances; he however assured me that I should do just as I pleased, that he would not ask me to drink a drop more than I wished, nor oppose my leaving him whenever I thought proper. Upon the faith of these assurances I dressed and took a seat in his phaeton.

The party consisted of eight as strong-headed fellows as could be found in Hindostan. During dinner we drank as usual, that is, the whole company each with the other at least twice over. The cloth being removed, the first half-dozen toasts proved irresistible, and I gulped them down without hesitation; at the seventh, feeling disposed to avail

myself of the promised privilege, I only half-filled my glass, whereupon our host said, "I should not have suspected you, Hickey, of shirking such a toast as the Navy," and my next neighbour immediately observing, "it must have been a mistake," having the bottle in his hand at the time, he filled my glass up to the brim. The next round I made a similar attempt, with no better success, and then gave up the thoughts of saving myself up. After drinking two-and-twenty bumpers in glasses of considerable magnitude, the *considerate* President said, everyone might then fill according to his own discretion, and so *discreet* were all of the company that we continued to follow the Colonel's example of drinking nothing short of bumpers until two o'clock in the morning, at which hour each person staggered to his carriage or his palankeen, and was conveyed to town. The next day I was incapable of leaving my bed, from an excruciating headache, which I did not get rid of for eight-and-forty hours; indeed a more severe debauch I never was engaged in in any part of the world.

CHAPTER XII

1798

SIR HENRY RUSSELL, AND SIR JOHN ANSTRUTHER.
LORD MORNINGTON AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL

IN the beginning of 1798 Mrs. Macnaghten was rendered very happy by the arrival of her brother Captain John Dunkin from the Cape of Good Hope, where his Regiment, the 8th Light Dragoons, was stationed, in which Corps he had a Troop. He had obtained leave of absence for the purpose of visiting his father and sister in Bengal, with whom he passed several months. In the same ship with Captain Dunkin came Captain Staunton, of the Company's army, who had been to England on account of health. This gentleman was an intimate friend of the Burke and Dunkin families. He brought me a very indifferent account of the state of Mr. William Burke's health, who he stated to be almost at the last gasp when he sailed from Portsmouth.

By the *Eurydice* packet we heard of the Supreme Court's being put upon a new footing, the number of Judges being reduced from four to three, Sir John Anstruther being appointed Chief Justice in the room of Sir Robert Chambers, Sir John Royds named as second Judge, Sir Henry Russell third. Sir William Dunkin had permission given him to remain *as long as he thought proper*, but accompanied with a tolerably broad hint that Government did not expect he should avail himself of the indulgence beyond the period of one year. This new arrangement had been effected through the influence of Sir John Anstruther, who had prevailed upon the administration to do away with one of the judge-ships in order thenceforward to apply the salary so saved

as a fund to pay a certain pension for those Judges who should in future retire from the Bench after having executed the duties of the office for the full term of seven years, the Chief Justice's pension in such case being fifteen hundred pounds per annum, the Puisne Judges thirteen hundred, payable in India at the same favourable rate of exchange as their salaries were.

Sir Robert Chambers had no choice given him, his public functions and his salary ceasing the moment his successor should take his seat—a circumstance the Knight did not at all relish, having flattered himself he should be entitled to his full allowances, until the day of his disembarkation in England.

Sir William Dunkin determined to take his departure by the first regular Indiaman that should sail from Bengal, having, as I was happy to hear from himself, saved a sufficient sum of money to enable him to live the rest of his life in ease and comfort. Besides which his letters from Europe assured him there was not the least doubt but he would be entitled to receive the pension of a retiring Judge.

Captain Dance, of the ship *Lord Camden*, being to sail on his homeward-bound voyage in the commencement of March, offered to take charge of any parcel I might be desirous of having conveyed to Europe, and as I decided to avail myself of the offer, I forthwith purchased a pair of very rich and beautiful shawls intended as a present for my highly valued friend Mrs. Burke. My object was that they should reach her free of every expence whatsoever, even to the trifling article of portorage: they were of course to be inserted in the ship's manifest. I was talking to Captain Dance relative to these shawls which lay upon a table before us, when Mr. Laprimaudaye, a partner in the mercantile house of Frushard and Company, for which firm I acted as Attorney, happened to come in, when hearing the business we were upon he immediately said to me, "Permit me to recommend you, Hickey, not to think of troubling Captain Dance upon the present occasion, but let me take this little com-

mission off his hands I know that he has matters enough of his own to engage all his attention ; we are in the constant practice of transacting such business by forwarding the articles to our Agents in London, who thereupon, that is, on receiving our letter of advice, with the utmost punctuality and despatch, take all the necessary measures, paying the duties, fees, etc."

Upon this (I am sure well intended) interference of Mr. Laprimaudaye I stated to him what my particular wish was, especially that Mrs. Burke should receive the pair of shawls without their costing her a single shilling. This he assured me should be punctually attended to, and that he would take care himself to address the Agents upon the business. I then observed that Captain Dance had just informed me the expence of clearing them, including Government duties and everything else, would be about twenty guineas, and I had then in my hand twenty-five pounds which I was just going to give Captain Dance. As circumstances then stood I offered the above sum to Mr. Laprimaudaye who declined taking it, saying : " My dear Hickey, there is not the least occasion for your advancing anything whatever, place the sum to our credit hereafter when the exact amount has been ascertained ; we are largely in your debt. Our Agents, Messrs Lubbock and Company, will manage the matter on our account and to the letter of our instructions in every respect, and I shall be very particular in my address to them relative to your shawls." Grievously was I disappointed at the result, as I shall hereafter mention.

In the month of May Sir Henry Russell arrived on board the *Earl Fitzwilliam* after a long passage, he having embarked in the preceding September. Sir Henry immediately went into a handsome house that had been previously taken and prepared for him by an old friend of his, Walter Ewer, Esquire. The morning after Sir Henry landed, Mr. Ewer, who was a member of our Thursday's Club, and with whom I had become intimate, carried me to the new Judge, and introduced me. Sir Henry received me most kindly, observing that previous to his leaving England my name

had become quite familiar to him, several of his most esteemed friends having declared themselves particularly interested for the success of William Hickoy. He also said that he had been long and well acquainted with my father, and knew my brother, though but slightly. He requested I would dine with him that day, which I did, his party consisting of Mr. Ewer, Mr. Edward Lloyd, who came out as his Clerk, and whom I set down as the most pert, forward, and impudent fellow I had ever seen—though upon better acquaintance I found my opinion was too hastily formed; he was a very fine young man, and we were subsequently prodigious friends—Mr. William Jackson, the Register of the Supreme Court, whose family in England were intimate with Sir Henry—the Judge's eldest son Henry, who had been appointed a writer in the Company's service, and myself. The weather was intensely hot, and Sir Henry extremely surprized therefore at ice creams being put upon the table with the dessert, a thing he said if he had not seen, he should have pronounced as impracticable to have been produced in such a climate. I early perceived that Sir Henry took very kindly to the Lol Shrob, of which every one of the party, except young Mr. Russell, drank full three pints.

In the June term, which commenced on the 15th, Sir Henry Russell was sworn into office and took his seat upon the Bench, when his superior talents as a deep-read lawyer was at once perceived. I dined with a small and select party at his house that day, when he could not help expressing how much he had been displeased by the frivolity of Sir Robert Chambers. He likewise spoke rather contemptuously of the important, self-sufficient Advocate-General, Mr. Burroughs, whom, without hesitation, he declared to be anything but a lawyer.

Sir Henry Russell was a very cheerful companion, fond of chatting about absent friends. At his special desire I usually spent an hour or two every morning, talking of our mutual acquaintances in different parts of the world. He informed me with a good deal of exultation that he had

been selected and named by the Bar of England as the fittest person in that numerous and learned body to fill a seat upon the Bench of the Supreme Court, such intimation having been communicated to him through one of the Seniors, Mr. Plumer (now Sir Thomas Plumer, Attorney-General), a compliment of the highest kind, of which he felt the value. As the Minister had been given to understand that great alterations and reforms would be necessary to be adopted respecting the said Supreme Court, it had been his intention, sanctioned by his colleagues in administration, to have appointed Sir Henry Russell Chief Justice, but upon the eve of his nomination the parliamentary influence of Sir John Anstruther, backed by a powerful Scotch junto, prevailed against him, and Sir John was placed in the Chiefship. When the present Lord Erskine, then Mr. Erskine, heard of the arrangement, he violently exclaimed: "What the devil is all this! Russell going out under Anstruther! Why, Anstruther is not fit to carry Russell's bag," a strong mode of speech, but it was generally considered as a true assertion, for there could be no sort of comparison made between the two gentlemen in point of professional skill, or legal knowledge, of which fact Sir John Anstruther was himself conscious, always paying the utmost deference and respect to the opinion of Sir Henry Russell.

In the following August Sir John Anstruther arrived, having been detained for several weeks at the Cape of Good Hope by a severe attack of gout. A special Court was opened for the purpose of swearing him in, the oaths being administered by Sir William Dunkin as Senior Puisne Judge. That weak man, Sir Robert Chambers, declared his intention of presiding at the ceremony of introducing Sir John Anstruther to his office. With difficulty he was dissuaded from it, by the observation of how very awkward a situation he would thereby put himself in, for it could not be very agreeable to be present at the reading of the new patent which recited his supersession appointing Sir John Anstruther to take the office from him: besides, where

would he seat himself ? In the Chief's chair he could not : that must be filled by Sir John Anstruther, the other three would be equally engaged by Sir William Dunkin, Sir John Royds, and Sir Henry Russell. Upon that suggestion only did he give up his intention of swearing the new Chief Justice into office.

I visited Sir John and Lady Anstruther at Messieurs Cockerell and Trail's, where they had taken up their abode until a suitable mansion could be got. This visit of mine Sir John Anstruther returned three days afterwards, when happening to be at home at the time he called I shewed him over my whole house, with every part of which he seemed greatly pleased, admiring equally its interior conveniences and the beauty of the view from it in every direction, especially towards the river. The day after this visit, either he or his lady had the modesty to send a gentleman to me to say what difficulty they experienced in finding a house fit for their family, and how greatly they should feel obliged if I would give up mine to them, it being exactly what they wanted. Without the least scruple or hesitation I returned a positive refusal, truly stating that I had expended too much money upon it and felt the convenience of its contiguity to the Court too forcibly voluntarily to relinquish the possession, adding that I had taken the precaution to get from Sir Robert Chambers a written engagement that when this lease I held should expire, a new one should be granted for any term I required at the same rent, and that neither he nor his heirs or representatives should ever attempt to oust me.

I certainly did consider Sir John Anstruther's application equally unreasonable as impudent. Notwithstanding so peremptory a refusal to comply with his desire, I was treated with the utmost attention and civility both by him and his lady, being frequently invited to dine with them, an honour not bestowed upon many of the attornies. I, however, soon discovered that Lady Anstruther was a very capricious woman, sometimes extremely haughty, and disposed to be insolent ; at others affable and pleasing. She told me she

knew my sisters, having often met them in parties, and had lately seen the eldest (meaning Ann) at Weymouth, with the Marquis and Marchioness of Thomond. The Anstruthers were also particularly intimate with my old friend Mr. Windham, of Norfolk, who was Godfather to their second son, a boy of about eight years of age, whom they very imprudently brought out with them to India, for his was the very time of life at which he should have been sent to school instead of making a voyage to the East. Whether he was ultimately a sufferer by the step his parents so took or not, I cannot tell, but his father being dead he is now become the Baronet and is a fashionable coxcomb of the Guards.

At the time Sir John Anstruther was sworn in as Chief Justice, Mr. Edward Lloyd was placed upon the roll of attornies, there being an exception to the rule that limited the number to twelve, in favour of the Clerks of Judges. The Court was then adjourned to the customary day of meeting in October, being the 22nd when, I understood from Sir Henry Russell, great alterations would take place, himself as well as the Chief Justice being well aware of the iniquitous conduct of some of the officers as the Establishment then stood, especially in the department of the Sheriff's office, which had become an absolute Augean stable, and to which their attention had therefore been particularly drawn.

I was glad to see the climate appeared to agree perfectly well with Sir Henry Russell, indeed, he thought better even than England, where he had been much tormented by headaches, and which had entirely ceased upon his arrival in Bengal. This was a very gratifying circumstance to him, for as the pains were always more violent and of longer duration in summer than in winter, he was fearful a residence in a hot climate would increase the evil.

Our Governor-General, Sir John Shore, having received authentic information that the Earl of Mornington was on his way to India to oust him from his Government, and not choosing to wait the disagreeable ceremony, he very suddenly

and unexpectedly took his departure on board the honourable Company's ship *Britannia*, being attended in the expedition by an old friend and brother Company's servant, Matthew Day, Esquire, of convivial celebrity. Mr. Day had acquired a large fortune, according to public fame, not by means strictly consonant to either honour or honesty, but very much to the contrary, and was so apprehensive of being attacked through the dire medium of the Law by some of the many natives he had plundered, as to induce him to keep his intention of leaving India a profound secret, and giving out that the sole object that brought him from his place of residence to the Presidency was to take leave and bid adieu to a long-esteemed friend and companion, Sir John Shore, previous to that gentleman's embarking for Europe. In short, Mr. Day's plan had been so well laid and was so admirably executed that two days prior to that on which Sir John Shore was to quit Calcutta for the ship, Mr. Day's pinnace and baggage boats were prepared and in waiting at Chaund Paul Ghaut as if to convey him to his residence at Dacca. Tho better to carry on the farce and deceive the public, twelve chests containing all the customary marks of containing claret, a commodity Mr. Day was known to deal largely in at his own table, were marched with much bustle and parade through the streets of Calcutta at noonday, his name appearing in large characters upon each chest, the whole being put on board his boats.

Thus matters remained until Sir John Shore left town, and an account arrived there that the *Britannia* was safely out of the river, and fairly at sea : soon after which Mr. Day's servants beginning to wonder what could have become of their master, and growing at last impatient and clamorous to get home, they in a body waited on their master's Agent, who with the utmost composure informed them they never would see Mr. Day again, he having sailed for America, but not without leaving directions to pay them the wages due, which was accordingly done, and received with tears and lamentations by several old and attached servants who with heavy and sorrowful hearts returned to Dacca,

their master, instead of being on his way to America, being with his friend Sir John Shore in the *Britannia*, as his Agent well knew. So much for the veracity of a Bengal Agent, and so much for the honour and conscience of the now devout and pious Lord Teignmouth, who so lent himself to execute a scheme of deceit and robbery ! The twelve chests of claret being opened were found to contain only bricks and straw, the trunks in the pinnace being similarly laden. The contents were therefore discharged into the Ganges !

Mr. Day, having reached England, pursued the same habits of life he had been used to in Asia, and in a very few months was heard to boast that he had soon finished "the old Buck," meaning his father ! of which circumstance he spoke with great mirth and with equal want of feeling, coolly observing, "I believe the old gentleman had a tolerably fair head, was equal to taking his bottle, or two bottles perhaps, of port daily, and then retiring quietly to his pillow. But the old boy committed a sad mistake when he imagined himself competent to attack me through night after night of burgundy. He was done up speedily and carried off to the land of our forefathers." In this disrespectful and unfeeling manner did he speak of the death of an affectionate and fond parent, whose premature death too he was instrumental in effecting. This *worthy gentleman*, Mr. Matthew Day, soon after his arrival in England, became a crony of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to whom it was supposed he had lent money, people being at a loss how otherwise to account for an intimacy subsisting between such a man as Mr. Matthew Day and the Heir Apparent.

A very few days after Sir John Shore left Calcutta, Lord Mornington arrived there in the *Virginie* frigate, at once bursting forth like a constellation in all his pomp and splendour amongst us. By his Lordship we first heard of Sir John Shore's having been honoured with an Irish peerage, under the title of Baron Teignmouth ! I attended the first public Levee of Lord Mornington, with the rest of the

principal inhabitants of the Settlement, but within a month afterwards was specially introduced to his Lordship by Sir Henry Russell at the latter's house, and was honoured with a very gracious reception.

Mr. John Rider now returned from an unsuccessful attempt he had made to reclaim his only daughter, who had absconded from her mother's house with the man named Crouch with whom she became desperately enamoured, accompanying him abroad. The poor distressed father pursued her for several weeks from place to place, through great part of France and Flanders without ever being able to obtain an interview. He then addressed a very pathetic letter to her, remonstrating against the disgraceful course of life she had fallen into, earnestly soliciting her return to virtue and her parental roof and promising that she should be received without upbraidings. He concluded by beseeching her, if an atom of feeling or affection remained in her bosom, to consent to see him. This letter she immediately answered, pleading guilty to the heavy charges it contained, readily admitting the impropriety, the immorality of the step she had taken, but pleaded love, unconquerable love ! amounting nearly to phrenzy, nor should she be able, while a single breath animated her heart, ever to abandon or forsake the man she adored, for whom she had sacrificed and must continue to sacrifice fame, character, and fortune. She then in most grateful language acknowledged her father's affectionate care and tenderness towards her from the earliest hour of her remembrance, but positively declined an interview, as altogether useless, observing it could answer no good end, and would in all probability add to his distress of mind. The unfortunate parent was therefore compelled to leave her to her fate. He returned to England forthwith, and by the first ship that sailed for India embarked on her, to resume his duties in the Company's service.

In September I was deprived of the society of Colonel Sherbrooke, his Regiment being ordered to the Coast of Coromandel, and he embarked with it.

Sir Henry Russell had impressed both Sir John and Lady Anstruther with an unfavourable opinion of Mr. Burroughs, in consequence of which they treated him with the most cold and distant formality, notwithstanding which his natural impertinence, effrontery, and total want of delicacy led him to go to their house on what was called their "public night," with as much ease and familiarity as the most welcome guest could assume.

The *Sybelles*, frigate, being in want of repairs in her hull, was brought up to Calcutta to undergo them. She was commanded by Captain Cook, a gallant young man of only twenty-two years of age, full of vigour and of spirits. He was son to the gentleman who long represented the County of Middlesex in Parliament, until he was thrown out by the mad popularity of John Wilkes in the year 1768.

Soon after Lord Mornington assumed the Government of Bengal a meeting of the British inhabitants of Calcutta was convened by the Sheriff at the desire of a few leading men, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of addressing His Majesty upon the present state of affairs in Europe, especially relative to the necessary war we were engaged in with France : also to follow the example set by many of our worthy fellow-subjects at home, of entering into a subscription to contribute towards the support and carrying on of it. On the day appointed the meeting was very numerous and respectably attended, when a number of orators held forth upon the occasion, among the most conspicuous of whom were Mr. George Johnston, Mr. Charles Fuller Martyn, Mr. George Dallas, Mr. Edward Strettell, and the pedantic coxcomb Burroughs. An Address being voted, a Committee was instantly chosen to prepare one. This Committee withdrew to a private room, and in about half an hour returned with one they had selected from several that had been previously drawn. This being read to the Assembly was unanimously approved, every person present subscribing his name thereto, after which it remained during three entire days at the theatre, to afford an opportunity to the public at large to sign. A

subscription book was opened at the same time, by which a very handsome sum of money was raised, and transmitted with the Address to His Majesty's Ministers.

My excellent friend General St. Leger, upon hearing that Sir John Anstruther was arrived in Bengal, directly wrote me the kindest letter that could be, saying he had for several years lived upon terms of the utmost familiarity and cordiality with the new Chief Justice, and had every reason to believe the worthy Baronet would feel happy to attend to any wish or desire of his which he was resolved to put to the proof, and therefore enclosed a letter to him which he hoped would operate favourably. The letter alluded to, and enclosed in mine, was couched in the strongest terms with regard to me ; he therein stated how greatly he was interested in my success and how much he should feel himself obliged by any services he (Sir John Anstruther) might confer on me. This letter, which came to me open, I sealed, and delivered myself to the Chief Justice, who, after having perused it, assured me there was no man living whom he more highly respected or felt more attached to than General St. Leger ; that his recommendations or his wishes would therefore always be binding upon him. " But," added he, " upon the present occasion I desire you to believe, Hickey, that no recommendation of you is at all necessary, my inclination being to further your fortunes by every means within my power." Mere Scotch insincere professions his speeches turned out, as I never benefited one sixpence in any way whatsoever from his patronage or public station.

The removal of Sir Robert Chambers from the situation of Chief Justice did not occur before such a measure had become absolutely necessary from the notorious imbecility he had betrayed upon several occasions. As a proof that his mind was entirely over-set, I need only mention that when his passage was taken for Europe with Captain Lukin he expressed the utmost satisfaction thereat, because he knew that gentleman's ship had a double row of fine large trees at her bottom, under the shade of which he, Sir Robert Chambers, could take a walk in an evening ! Previous to

his departing he in some measure recovered his intellect, though he continued extremely eccentric and odd at times.

Captain Lukin was a mild, conciliating man, who did everything in his power to comply even with the whims of his old debilitated passenger, but all his kind endeavours were thrown away from the petulance and irritability of Sir Robert Chambers who actually challenged him to fight a duel for, as he said, forfeiting his word by not going into the Cape of Good Hope after promising that he would do so. Captain Lukin very properly treated the challenge with contempt, but completely refuted the charge of breach of word by shewing his instructions from the Government of Bengal, which peremptorily forbid his touching at the Cape except from the direst necessity.

The ship made a very good passage, and Sir Robert landed in England in tolerable health. He did not, however, long enjoy the return to his native land. In the summer after he got home his volatile lady prevailed on him to accompany her upon a party of pleasure to the Continent. At Paris, from leading a more dissipated life than he had been used to, he fell sick and, after a short confinement, died. As he had expressed an earnest wish not to be buried in France, his widow very considerably directed that the corpse should be conveyed to England, which was accordingly done, the deceased being interred in Westminster Abbey, and being attended to the grave by many of the first personages in the Kingdom.

On the 22nd of October the Term commenced, when many of the threatened alterations and reformatations were promulgated. Several offices were entirely done away and abolished, others were blended under the same person, who although holding two distinct appointments, received only the salary of one. A new Table of Fees was established, very much reducing the emoluments of the practitioners, and extending equally to the Bar as to the Attornies; in short, the new Judges proceeded with a most inconsiderate zeal impetuously to act upon the prejudices they illiberally brought out with them from the Mother Country, thereby

committing the grossest acts of injustice and oppression of which, when too late to remedy, they became sensible, and then lamented the unwarrantable rigour with which they had, from their prejudice, acted. Some of what they chose to denominate "Amendments" were of a most despotic nature. Such was an order they made that no Barrister should ever be paid a larger sum as a general retainer than five gold mohurs, and no more than two gold mohurs for a common retainer in a particular cause, nor should they upon any occasion be permitted to receive "Refreshers," a fee so called when the trial of a cause lasted more than one day, in which case the Counsel daily received the same Fee as on the first, and in Sir Robert Chambers's time no cause of the least consequence was ever decided in less than three, and not unfrequently three-and-twenty days. A measure as futile as it was arbitrary, because the Advocates would of course receive a proportionate increased Fee in the first instance with their briefs.

The injustice of the order itself roused the indignation of every gentleman of the Bar. Mr. Burroughs acted upon the occasion with a very becoming spirit of independence. He, in plain terms, told the Judges when seated upon the Bench, that they had usurped a power neither the constitution of Great Britain nor the custom of any Court belonging to the British Dominions, gave them; that with equal propriety might they take upon themselves to control or limit the grateful feelings of an individual to his medical friend from whose able prescriptions he felt conscious his life had been preserved; that for his own part he had no hesitation in thus publicly declaring that he should pay not the least attention to so inconsiderate, so unjust, and he would add unconstitutional an order, avowing that he would continue to receive any and every Fee to any amount that those persons deemed his services worthy of after having employed him, or even before such trial of talents, as must ever be the case with respect to retainers. The Chief Justice upon hearing such sentiments uttered in the public Court became pale with rage, and with equal violence as forgetfulness of

his own position, exclaimed, "The first instance of your taking a higher Fee than has now been settled and established by the Court that comes to my knowledge, I do assure you that your name shall no longer remain upon the Rolls as an Advocate, and that I will act the same to any other barrister who shall presume to set himself up against our rules and orders, thereby committing a palpable contempt of Court."

Mr. Burroughs, with the utmost composure and command of temper, replied: "My Lord, I am confident that to resist an arbitrary, unauthorized, nay, I will say an illegal act coming from your Lordship's Bench, never can or will be construed 'Contempt of Court.' But be that as it may, I here again repeat that I will pay no regard to the unconstitutional order your Lordship has just mentioned, and I dare venture to add that your Lordship will not, without most mature consideration, put your threat of disbarring into execution!" The natural impetuosity of the proud Caledonian might perhaps have induced him, maugre all the consequences, to have supported his own measure, however unjustifiable, but the more temperate Sir Henry Russell, being aware too that what Mr. Burroughs had asserted was supported both by Law and reason, and that the Court had undoubtedly exceeded its power in framing such an order as the one in question, took some pains, privately, to convince the Chief Justice they were wrong and that the order could not be enforced.

Two days subsequent to the above discussion, upon the meeting of the Court, the Chief Justice, previous to entering upon the current business of the day, said from the Bench, "Every Court of Justice has, and must have a control over its own officers. This Court taking into consideration the innumerable instances of extortion and he must add gross fraud of some of the officers attached to it, which had come to their knowledge, were very desirous of correcting such evils and preventing a recurrence of them in future, for which salutary end he desired the Prothonotary to read an order that had been framed by himself and his Brethren."

It was to the following effect : " That no Attorney, Solicitor or Proctor should upon any pretence, or upon any occasion whatsoever, send or give, or cause to be sent or given, to any Advocate a greater sum than five gold mohurs as and for a general retainer, nor a greater sum than two gold mohurs as and for a common retainer in any cause depending or about to be instituted by any suitor either as plaintiff or defendant. Nor should any such Fee as a Refresher, or additional sum to what was originally marked upon the Brief at the time of the first delivery of it to Counsel, ever be allowed by the Master in the taxation of Attorney's costs, either between Party and Party or between Attorney and Client." He added verbally that any Attorney of the Court, transgressing against or in the slightest degree evading or attempting to evade the rule, would upon discovery of the fact forthwith have his name struck off the Roll of Attornies, thus quibbling away the defeat he had experienced from the properly shewn spirit of an individual member of the Bar ; for the Attornies had only to inform their clients that they must in person wait upon the Counsel when desirous of complimenting them with any greater Fees than those thus arbitrarily fixed and prescribed by the Judges, a mode that was thenceforward consistently pursued.

Sir John Anstruther continued to carry on a war of words with Mr. Burroughs with much violence and rancour for the space of a fortnight, during which period he snapped him up every moment, interrupted the chain of any argument he was endeavouring to maintain and uphold, with most coarse remarks, betraying a petulance and irascibility highly unbecoming and derogatory to his station as a Judge. All which improprieties, however, were met by Mr. Burroughs with a composure and command of his own passions that did him much credit ; yet although he shewed no resentment he never yielded in the least degree to the angry Chief, or forbore to press his arguments and his cases in support of them, insisting that the most determined prejudice of the Bench could not resist their force, that he

was perfectly aware of the relative duties of the Bench and the Bar, and of the relative decency and respect due between them, which decency and respect he trusted on his part he should never prove deficient in, but when he said thus much he should take the liberty to add that nothing should ever deter him from doing his duty towards those persons that did him the honour to call for his professional assistance, and that no intemperate observations or rude ill-timed interruptions would ever affect his temper, his interests as a lawyer, or as a gentleman.

By persevering in this steady and proper line of conduct, Mr. Burroughs not only completely triumphed over Sir John Anstruther, but from being treated both in and out of Court with the utmost insolence and contempt by the proud Chief Justice, and equally so by his saucy and capricious wife, they suddenly changed their system altogether, and seemed alike to exert themselves in trying which could shew the most respect and attention to the object of their former neglect and impertinence. Not a party was given at their house but what the Advocate-General was invited to, and when there, treated with the most marked kindness and attention, being addressed by both host and hostess by the easy and familiar term of "Burroughs." In short, the man who a few weeks before had been so reprobated and so despised now became a first-rate favourite. The servile, despicable, selfish Advocate-General had the meanness to accept these sudden, these, as they might fairly be called, forced civilities, never shewing the least resentment for former rudenesses, this conduct becoming the more remarkable from its being notorious to all acquainted with Mr. Burroughs that he had more than a common share of false pride or, as it might be more properly denominated, arrogance in his composition.

At the end of the Term and Sittings, Sir Henry Russell, his son, Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. Ewer went up in my boat with me to Chinsurah, where a week went off greatly to their satisfaction, Sir Henry declaring that both his health and his spirits were much improved by the agreeable excursion,

and the generous hospitality he had received, and he often afterwards used to run up for Saturday and Sunday. In the first letters he addressed to his family in England, he told me he had strongly recommended Lady Russell to come out to him as soon as possible, having no doubt but that the climate would suit her constitution and certainly would add to their mutual felicity. He continued to treat me with the most marked attention and kindness, as did likewise Sir John Anstruther, at least as far as civil speeches went; they were pleased too, from their partiality, to exempt me from the general stigma they had thrown upon the body of Attornies and officers of the Supreme Court, avowing publicly that I was an exception to the disgraceful character of the Establishment, and that they should omit no opportunity of marking their approbation of the credit and respectability I had deservedly obtained throughout the Settlement. Sir Henry Russell's friendly professions I firmly believe came from the heart, but I cannot say I think the same as to those of Sir John Anstruther.

We had great rejoicings in Calcutta upon receiving the news of Lord Nelson's splendid victory of the Nile, heartily joining our Mother Country in grateful thanks to a benevolent providence for granting us the extraordinary abilities of our glorious Countryman.

My friend Mr. Anthony Lambert, who had long been one of my best clients, and in innumerable instances shewed the interest he took in my welfare, this season left us in order to enjoy a very handsome fortune he had acquired with honour to himself as a British merchant, in his native land. Upon his calling at my house to take leave, he told me one of his first objects upon reaching London would be to get me appointed a Notary-Public; a promise he faithfully adhered to, and from which I subsequently derived most important advantages.

Sir Henry Russell, from his having arrived in Bengal and taken his seat as a Judge of the Supreme Court, some months prior to the Chief Justice, Sir John Anstruther, had in consequence thereof the first nomination of Sheriff, for it

had then recently become the settled patronage of the Judges who took it in turn. He accordingly nominated his friend Walter Ewer, Esquire, to be the Sheriff, and Mr. Edward Lloyd, his Clerk, to be the Deputy or Under-Sheriff. Prior to the establishment of the Supreme Court, the appointment to the office of Sheriff rested entirely with the Governor and Council, but upon the arrival of His Majesty's Justices it was given up to them. Upon the first Tuesday in the month of December their Lordships accordingly met at Chambers in the Court House, when the Judge, whose turn it was to nominate, put down three names in writing, delivering the same to the Clerk of the Crown, when that officer immediately carried such written list to the Council House, and presented it to the Governor-General and Council, who thereupon caused their Secretary to write opposite the first of the three names (it having been previously arranged between Government and the Judges that the first person named was the one intended to fill the office), "Sheriff for the ensuing year, 179——" The document being conveyed back to the Judges they directed the Clerk of the Crown to take the necessary steps to establish such person in the office. The Sheriff-elect next attends before the Governor-General and Council in order to be sworn in, and upon the 20th of the same month of December enters upon the duties of the office.

In former times the situation of Sheriff was thought of with the utmost dread and alarm from an idea of the prodigious responsibility and risk attached to it, consequently no person ever courted the appointment; on the contrary, every one was most anxious to avoid it. The Deputy, who always was an Attorney of the Court, in order to be supposed qualified to execute the business of the office, aware of the immense advantages attached to the situation was, of course, prudent enough to keep the secret to himself, quietly pocketing the whole of the fees. But when a set of English lawyers succeeded to the Bench, thenceforward filled by a Mayor and Alderman, the matter became changed; their learned Lordships soon discovered

that the Shrievalty was a place of emolument well worthy their attention. They therefore claimed the right of appointing to it, which claim not being resisted, it thenceforth remained in their gift. In the days of Sir Elijah Impey, a Sheriff has been known at the end of his year to have cleared a lac and thirty thousand rupees, nearly equal to seventeen thousand pounds sterling! In those times the Deputy, notwithstanding he was the executive person, received only five hundred rupees a month, which was paid to him by the principal, but of late, the Deputy being generally a person patronized by one of the Judges, it has been stipulated at the nomination of the Sheriff that he should divide the profits of the Shrievalty equally with his Under-Sheriff. I officiated seven different years as Deputy or Under-Sheriff, the largest sum I ever received for my share of the profits during any one of the years being twenty-five thousand sicca rupees, equal to three thousand one hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling.

Towards the end of the year Sir Henry Russell purchased from Nemychurn Mullick the very capital mansion that had for a few days only been the property of Sir James Watson, who absurdly fell a sacrifice to the folly of supposing the influence of a Bengal sun would not affect him more than its rays would in England. This house was most desirably situated at Chouringee, having a very extensive piece of ground around it. In about a fortnight Sir Henry was completely established therein.

CHAPTER XIII

1799-1800

A SERIOUS INSURRECTION IN BENARES. THE DEATH OF GENERAL JOHN ST. LEGER. LADY RUSSELL AND HER NIECES MISS ROSE AYLMER AND MISS MARY LLOYD. THE STORMING OF SERING-APATAM

IN January, 1799, my friend Sir William Dunkin once more embarked for England, taking a final leave of the East. By his departure I ceased to receive the salary and emoluments of Judge's Clerk. During the last two years he remained in Bengal the Macnaghens and he resided together in the house which Mr. Justice Hyde occupied until his decease, a very spacious one most delightfully situated upon the Esplanade, commanding an extensive prospect down the river with Fort William directly in front.

At this period an insurrection of the most alarming nature broke out in the City of Benares and the vicinity thereof, excited and fomented by a young man named Vizier Ally, who from his earliest infancy had been brought up in the midst of European gentlemen, by all of whom he had constantly been cherished and noticed in the kindest and most affectionate manner. This youth when a child had been adopted by the Nabob Azaphat Dowlah, from which circumstance he had buoyed himself up with the expectation of succeeding to the Musnud upon the death of that Prince. Being disappointed in those vain and unfounded hopes, he thenceforward betrayed, whenever opportunities occurred of so doing, a disposition excessively hostile to the British interests, entering into private treaties and engagements

with several of the Native princes who were avowedly enemies to Europeans in general, but especially so to the East India Company and their servants, both civil and military. So open and so loud was this Vizier Ally in his declarations of vengeance against the English, but more particularly against Mr. John Lumsden, the Company's Resident at the Durbar of Lucknow, and Mr. George Frederick Cherry, the Chief of Benares, as to draw the attention of certain persons sincerely attached to the British Government to his proceedings, through whose medium, backed by different Agents himself employed, Mr. Lumsden soon ascertained that some desperate steps were likely to be resorted to, and that he and Mr. Cherry were the two grand objects whom Vizier Ally wished to sacrifice, from his entertaining an idea that they had been the chief instruments in preventing his succession to Azaphat Dowlah.

Mr. Lumsden, upon getting this information, directly dispatched a confidential person to Bonares to communicate the same to Mr. Cherry and put him upon his guard against the machinations of Vizior Ally and his supporters, a few days after which, from still further accounts that Mr. Lumsden received from Native Agents he had employed, he had reason to apprehend an attempt upon the life of Mr. Cherry was meditated, whereupon he instantly sent off a special messenger to Mr. Cherry to tell him what was on foot, and the channel through which the intelligence had reached him, which he had every reason to believe was but too well founded, under which circumstances he strongly recommended him to prohibit Vizier Ally from entering the City of Benares without his (Mr. Cherry's) special permission, or at any rate not to permit him to be attended by any person bearing arms. Mr. Lumsden, still further by the most powerful language advised Mr. Cherry to discontinue the custom of receiving Vizier Ally at his house, as he had long been in the habit of doing, and to direct his principal native officers to watch his proceedings very closely. To all these cautionary messages and recommendations Mr. Cherry replied that he would undoubtedly be upon his guard,

although he must add that he was not under the least apprehension of any violent or hostile measure being pursued by Vizier Ally, whose general conduct and behaviour he was very well acquainted with, and knew how every hour was occupied throughout the day ; that he, Vizier Ally, usually spent two hours daily with him, and appeared as amicably disposed as ever towards him personally, notwithstanding he had often complained of the injustice with which he had been treated by the British Government. He added that he received the most authentic accounts of all his, Vizier Ally's, political measures, and had no reason to think any violence was in contemplation.

Again Mr. Lumsden, in the utmost alarm, sent down his head assistant to Mr. Cherry to inform him his life was aimed at, beseeching him not to admit Vizier Ally within his doors until he heard further from Lucknow, as he (Mr. Lumsden) was about to adopt measures that he trusted would render futile all the treacherous schemes of the base and unprincipled Vizier Ally, and his numerous host of associates. Mr. Cherry repeated that he should not be unmindful of his own safety, but that he was confident the alarm was unfounded, and that the representations of what Vizier Ally was doing had been greatly exaggerated to him (Mr. Lumsden). In short, the conduct of this excellent man (Mr. Cherry) seemed like infatuation, for notwithstanding he received hourly information that considerable parties of armed men, both cavalry and infantry, were assembling in every direction round the City with the most unqualified symptoms of hostility, yet did he not take a single precautionary measure, not even to the putting on an additional sentry in the avenues leading to his mansion. So far from anything of that sort, upon Vizier Ally's sending a chubdar with his best compliments and that he would breakfast with him the following morning, Mr. Cherry, without a moment's pause, returned for answer that he should be happy to see him.

Vizier Ally accordingly went at seven o'clock in the morning to Mr. Cherry's. Upon entering the apartment where

Mr. Cherry was, ready to receive him, he with apparently the greatest cordiality, went through the usual ceremony of embrace and complimentary speeches, shewing not the least agitation or slightest symptom of animosity or resentment.

Breakfast being immediately called for, Mr. Cherry and his malignant guest sat down at the table. Having taken their tea, during which they conversed upon common topics with the utmost good-humour, Vizier Ally's hookah bedah brought in his hookah, when the villain rose from his seat, as if to meet the hookah, instantly drew his scimitar, and with it made a blow at Mr. Cherry that brought him to the ground; a band of armed ruffians at the same moment rushed in, put every servant to death, and following the example of their base master began cutting and slashing poor Mr. Cherry in the most inhuman manner so that his life was soon put an end to.

While this bloody scene was performing above stairs, the insurgents were not idle below, every sepoy of the usual guard, and every domestic of Mr. Cherry's that they met with were inhumanly butchered. Vizier Ally then headed his myrmidons in the street, directing them without loss of time to put to death every European throughout the City and every individual belonging to them, to accomplish which bloody purpose he, with about fifty chosen followers, proceeded to the house of Mr. Samuel Davis, the gentleman next in rank to Mr. Cherry, on their way to whose residence they unhappily met Captain Conway, a gentleman then upon a visit to Mr. Cherry, and Mr. Graham, Mr. Cherry's assistant, who were returning home from their morning ride; both of whom they put to death, but while so doing, some person ran to Mr. Davis's to give him notice of the intended attack. The career of the assassins was further delayed by encountering three other Englishmen whom they also slew. This afforded Mr. Davis time sufficient to convey his wife and children to the top of the house, the only approach to which was by a very small spiral staircase which he had only just erected, as a means to getting

to the top of the building in order to enjoy a grand and extensive prospect from there.

Scarcely had the mother and her family reached their doubtful place of security when the house was surrounded and attacked in several directions by some hundreds of Vizier Ally's followers. Mr. Davis, while conducting his wife and children to the top of the house, had seized upon a hog spear that by chance was placed in a corner, which weapon, through the blessing of providence, and the wonderful resolution and presence of mind of Mr. Davis, proved the salvation of his own and every one of his family's lives, indeed in all probability of the lives, too, of every European throughout the City of Benares.

Vizier Ally's people, having ransacked every part of the house in search of the owner, destroying the furniture and every article they met with, at last ascended the above-mentioned spiral staircase, which from its construction would admit only one at a time, and from its being circular those who were a few steps down could not see what was going forward above. Of this Mr. Davis availed himself, spearing each man as he appeared, one after another falling back mortally wounded so that the assailants, finding their comrades thus slaughtered, first paused and finally retreated to the foot of the staircase, where they entered upon a consultation as to what should next be done : during which debate Mr. Treves, Mr. Aguilar, and other English gentlemen being apprized of the murders already committed, mounted their fleetest horses and galloped off to the Cavalry Cantonments distant only a few miles from Benares, for assistance which was promptly afforded. A Troop of Dragoons were instantly sent off to the City, followed with all possible dispatch by two Regiments of Cavalry, of which Vizier Ally's people hearing, they suddenly and rapidly retreated, closely pursued by the Light Dragoons, who, as they overtook, cut them up without mercy. Vizier Ally, being mounted upon a remarkably fleet horse, effected his escape into the Rohilla country, the Rajah of which for a considerable time granted him shelter and protection, but was at last induced

from motives of policy to surrender him into the hands of the British Government under an express and positive stipulation, however, that he should not be put to death, which engagement has been most faithfully adhered to.

Vizier Ally, upon being delivered up to the English, was immediately conveyed to the Presidency, where he was lodged in one of the bomb proofs under the ramparts of Fort William, thentofore used as a magazine for keeping military stores in, and where he was kept a close and solitary prisoner, no person whatsoever being allowed access to him except the officer of the guard placed round his prison, and occasionally a Magistrate of Calcutta who visited him in order to report to the Governor-General the state he was in. In that dismal and forlorn situation the treacherous wretch still remains equally unpitied and unlamented.

In the month of May I lost a very old friend and an excellent client in Mr. Thomas Lyon who departed this life at his house near Berhampore. By his last Will and Testament he bequeathed me the sum of one thousand sicca rupees as an humble token of his sincere and respectful regard for me.

In June following I received a letter from Captain Barrington Bradshaw, giving me the melancholy information of the death of Major-General John St. Leger, at Dinapore, after an illness of only a few hours. He had engaged a large party of ladies and gentlemen from Patna to dine with him, on the morning of which day he took his accustomed ride on horseback, but while sitting at the breakfast table observed that he had found the sun in half an hour after it rose oppressively hot, and that it had occasioned a slight degree of headache. About noon he told Captain Bradshaw the pain was such as to render him wholly unfit to preside at dinner, and that unless he found relief from laying down for an hour he must substitute him to receive and entertain the company. He accordingly reclined upon his couch until near four o'clock, when he rose, summoning his servants that he might dress, but in doing so

became so faint and oppressed he was compelled to relinquish all thought of making his appearance, and to desire Captain Bradshaw would apologize to the company for his remaining in his chamber. Captain Bradshaw expressed an earnest wish that he would directly send for medical assistance, which the General would not hear of, saying it was quite unnecessary, his indisposition, arising merely from the influence of the sun, required only abstinence and rest and that a few hours' sleep would perfectly restore him.

Between nine and ten o'clock in the evening the party broke up, when Captain Bradshaw went into the General's bedchamber to ask how he did. He found him walking about the room, declaring himself greatly better, and that he intended to amuse himself by reading for an hour or two before he retired to rest. Captain Bradshaw therefore felt easy and determined to retire to his own apartment for the night. He accordingly did so, but being uncommonly restless and unable to sleep he, about two in the morning, rose, put on his dressing-gown and thought he might as well go into the General's apartment and ask him how he did, if awake. Proceeding gently to the bedside of his friend, he was excessively surprized and shocked to find him gasping for breath, foaming at the mouth, and in a state of utter insensibility. Dreadfully alarmed he instantly roused the servants, sending off for the Chief Surgeon of the station, but ere that gentleman reached the General's quarters he had breathed his last.

A very singular circumstance occurred upon the General's death which Captain Bradshaw assured me to be an absolute fact. General St. Leger brought with him from Europe a large curly-haired, beautifully white dog, of the French breed, that was amazingly attached to him, and a prodigious favourite. This animal had been his inseparable companion for upwards of three years, and had attended him through the whole of the Duke of York's arduous and unfortunate campaign upon the Continent, always sleeping at his feet. When Captain Bradshaw entered the General's room for the purpose of enquiring how he was, he found the dog

with his forefoot upon the side of the bed, and licking his master's hand, nor could he by gentle means or any coaxing induce him to leave that position, and when forcibly pulled away he moaned and howled in the most piteous manner. Having been violently dragged from the General's bed and room, he laid himself down at the door, where he remained perfectly quiet until the corpse was carrying out of the house when he set up a low yell, so plaintive and so truly mournful as to draw tears from every soul that heard it. The moment the procession moved, he availed himself of the opportunity of no one being left to oppose him to take possession of his departed master's bedchamber, crept under the bed, and there set himself down.

Upon Captain Bradshaw's return from the funeral his first thought was directed to this faithful creature, whom he found stationed under the bed, from whence he could not draw him, although next to the General himself he had always shewn the greatest symptoms of attachment to Captain Bradshaw, whenever the General was absent, following and obeying him in the humblest manner ; but upon this occasion every effort of Captain Bradshaw's was in vain, the poor animal wagged his tail, but whined in the most grievous strain, would not approach him, refused all sustenance, of which abundance was placed near him, and remained fixed in his station under the bed. On the third morning after the General's death this faithful dog was found dead.

In October following, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Sir Henry Russell's clerk, married Miss Engel, eldest daughter of Mr. Engel, who had formerly been a Captain in His Majesty's 45th Regiment of Foot, commanded by General Haviland. At the time this marriage was agreed upon, Lady Russell was daily expected in India. Mr. Lloyd, previous to becoming a Benedict, resolved to give a last Bachelors' dinner to all his male acquaintances, to which I, amongst many others, was invited. At this meeting a great deal of laugh and fun prevailed ; the bottle was circulated very freely during dinner. Soon after the cloth was removed,

Captain Garland Murray, who commanded one of the Company's ships, in a joking way, said, "I think it will be a fair speculation to gamble a little upon which wife has the first child, Mrs. Lloyd that is to be, or Lady Russell, now daily expected; come, I'll take the bride, Mrs. Lloyd, against the experienced matron who we see and know can breed. As it is not the fashion in Calcutta in convivial parties to make money bets, I'll lay a tavern dinner for the present party and a score more, that Mrs. Lloyd produces a child before Lady Russell." Young Henry Russell, with much pleasantry, answered, that he considered himself bound to support his mother, therefore accepted the proffered wager with the proviso that his mother should be in Calcutta, or his father meet her elsewhere within fifteen days after the time of Mr. Lloyd's marrying.

The terms being thus settled the entertainment was given at the tavern of Carlier and Scorneo. It proved a sad debauch to a small part of the company, in which minority I was not included, for Captain Murray who presided, got intolerably drunk before the cloth was removed, and became so insufferably noisy and troublesome that Mr. Walter Ewer, myself, and a few others, were disgusted and resolved to retreat, which we did! Mr. Lloyd would not honour the meeting with his presence, ridiculously taking offence at the nature of the wager, which he pronounced to be highly indelicate and indecorous: an opinion in which his dignified master was so far from agreeing that upon hearing what Lloyd had said upon the subject he pronounced him a conceited foolish coxcomb, adding, "That had it been consistent with his public situation as a Judge, he would undoubtedly have joined the jovial set, but as the dinner took place at a tavern, and it had not been deemed correct for a Judge to be seen in a common receptacle for drinking, he stayed away."

It was rather a whimsical coincidence of circumstances that the day previous to that fixed on for Mr. Lloyd's marriage, I received a note from Sir Henry Russell asking the loan of my boat to take him to Diamond Harbour from



LADY RUSSELL

After the portrait by George Romney, R.A. Painted in 1786-7

whence a messenger was just come to announce the arrival of Lady Russell, on board the *Charlton*, Captain Welladvice, so that Sir Henry and his lady met almost at the very same hour in which Mr. Lloyd and Miss Engel became man and wife, thus rendering the wager I have mentioned above as fair a thing as possible. Lady Russell brought out two nieces with her, the Honourable Miss Rose Aylmer, a very charming and lovely girl about seventeen years of age, daughter to Lord Aylmer by a sister of Lady Russell's, and Miss Mary Lloyd, the daughter of another sister. The last-named niece was about five-and-twenty, by no means pretty, but a good figure and exceedingly clever, indeed she had a masculine understanding, with a high independent spirit. Her Ladyship was likewise accompanied by her second son Charles, who came out a Cadet upon the Bengal Establishment.¹

In less than an hour after her Ladyship's reaching Calcutta, I was summoned to Chouringee by a very kind note from Sir Henry Russell, saying his wife was so impatient to see me that she would not let him rest until he dispatched a special messenger for me. I instantly obeyed the call, and nothing could be more gracious than the reception I met with, Lady Russell saying she felt an interest about me superior to what she had ever experienced towards a stranger, but which arose from my unexampled goodness (as she was pleased to term it) to the worthy though unfortunate Mr. Benjamin Mee, who was the grievously lamented and much loved brother of Lady Palmerston, the dear and bosom friend of her heart, who upon her (Lady Russell's) leaving England, had made her promise not to let a single day pass after her arrival in India ere she became acquainted with me, and to make her grateful acknowledgments for my generous and affectionate conduct to her brother while living, and for my equally liberal defence of his character and memory after death, both which had been most injuriously and cruelly aspersed, "a promise (added Lady Russell) that I do assure you, Mr. Hickey, I have great satisfaction in thus fulfilling, nor can I express the gratifica-

¹ But see p. 260.—Ed.

tion it affords me to find you the intimate friend of my dear husband." After such a reception it is superfluous to say I spent much of my leisure time with the amiable family at Chouringee.

Lady Anstruther paid Lady Russell the utmost attention upon her first arrival, but within a twelvemonth she became so extremely jealous of the universal respect and esteem Lady Russell was held in by both male and female, that to speak well of her in her (Lady Anstruther's) presence was sure to excite her enmity. Those therefore, who like me, were intimate in Sir Henry Russell's family were always liable to be coldly received if not insulted at Lady Anstruther's. It fell to my lot to be longer in experiencing the capricious woman's impertinence than many of my acquaintances ; it however came at last, for upon my going to one of her public nights accompanied by young Henry Russell, she was so pointedly rude to us both that I resolved never again to enter her door, nor did I, although I continued to receive cards of invitation to dinner and to evening parties, for many months subsequent to my absenting myself. As I have already said, she was the most capricious, and to those who would submit to it, at times the most overbearing insolent woman, notwithstanding which, from her elevated station and the splendour of her entertainments, everybody almost submitted to her impertinence, continuing to court her. The leading men of the Settlement now and then complained that Sir John Anstruther's wines were not so good as they ought to be. Some of the wags of Calcutta who had remarked that Sir Henry Russell's claret was always of the very best, while his dinners were execrable, therefore proposed that Sir John Anstruther should be recommended to employ Sir Henry Russell's wine merchant, and that Sir Henry Russell should be equally urged to engage Sir John Anstruther's cook. Doctor Fleming of gormandizing celebrity made the following facetious distich extempore upon the fare of the two houses :

"To dine with the Judges is no great recreation ;
The one gives you poison ' The other starvation."

We this year lost in a most shameful and disgraceful manner the *Triton*, outward-bound East Indiaman, which was captured off the sand heads at the entrance of the river Hooghley, by Monsieur Surcouff, a man who had previously rendered his name famous by the havoc he made amongst the English merchant vessels. Monsieur Surcouff had fitted out as a privateer what had been a British pilot schooner belonging to Bengal, which he had captured some time before, sent to the Mauritias, where she was properly equipped for fighting, and again sent to cruize in the Indian Seas, especially in the Bay of Bengal. When the *Triton* ran into Balasore roads, Surcouff was laying at an anchor there. The Commander of the *Triton*, not entertaining the least doubt but that the vessel he saw was a pilot schooner, immediately hoisted the signal for a pilot, which Surcouff, who was perfectly well acquainted with the nature of our marine service, answered in the customary manner, directly weighed anchor and stood towards the *Triton*, whose decks were covered with people, for besides having a complete complement of men, she had upwards of eighty recruits for the Company's army, and twenty male passengers. All on board looking with eager eyes to the approach of the welcome pilot that was, as they supposed, to conduct them in safety to their destined port, Surcouff, with only about half a dozen men upon his deck, then ran close under the bow of the *Triton*, as if unintentionally, when himself and eighteen others, being armed with cutlasses and battle-axes, scrambled up into the ship and instantly ran aft into the cuddy, where, meeting with the Captain and two other gentlemen, they put them to death. Upon the entrance of the Frenchmen into the ship, every soul fled from the upper deck as fast as their legs could carry them, seeking safety below.

In this truly shameful way did nineteen Frenchmen get possession of a ship having full two hundred stout fellows belonging to her, all of whom, as it were panic-struck, remained cooped up between decks, until the caulker, having taken a peep, ascertained how very small a number

the captors consisted of, whereupon he harangued his comrades, observing there were English enough on board to eat up the French dogs, and how unliko British tars it was to quietly yield to such a despicable handful. He concluded his address by proposing to blow up the main and fore hatchways, which the French had fastened down, pour, in two bodies, upon the handful of men that had possession of the upper deck, and put them to death, which could not occupy five minutes; he offered himself to shew the way and take the lead. His speech being received with universal applause, the crew choered, promising to follow and support him. The caulker and about fifty others then armed themselves, the hatches were blown open by gunpowder, as had been proposed, and the gallant caulker rushed forth sword in hand, but not a single man followed his example. So alarmed were the French at the explosion of powder, that they all ran forward, three of them actually jumping overboard with a view to escape by swimming to the schooner. The noble fellow of a caulker in the interim was cutting away in all directions, when Surcouff seeing his party were assailed by a single person only, rallied them. They united their efforts against the brave individual, and soon cut him down covered with wounds.

Being thus a second time masters of the upper deck Surcouff called to the people below, swearing that if any further opposition was attempted, every soul should be put to death. The dastardly wretches promised submission and remained quiet and inactive. The French then stood to sea with the ship two hours, when they hove to, made the English come up one by one, go over the ship's side, and thus conveyed them in four or five trips of the boats to the schooner, retaining five-and-twenty of the sailors whom Surcouff by promises of freedom and a largo reward in money tempted to help to navigate the ship to the Mauritias. He then despatched the English in the schooner with orders to proceed immediately for Calcutta, while he made sail for the Mauritias, taking with him the officers of the ship, the female passengers, to whom he behaved with the most

polite and respectful attention, and the poor maimed caulker whose gallantry he spoke of in the highest terms.

One of the passengers was Richard Fleming, Esquire, a man upwards of six feet high, of immense strength, which if exerted might have been equal to destroying half the enemy. Upon this gentleman's reaching Calcutta, he was there described by the title of "Triton" Fleming, in order to distinguish him from three others of the same name, but as he felt conscious a stigma attached to the title thus given, he declared his disapprobation publicly, saying if any person thenceforward presumed to call him by it, he should consider it as an intended insult and resent the same accordingly. This Mr. Richard Fleming subsequently became father-in-law to Mr. George Udney, a member of the Supreme Council, who married his eldest daughter, a very fine girl.

The gallant caulker of the *Triton*, although so dreadfully wounded, in a few months recovered, when the French as a mark of their respect for his bravery, immediately set him at liberty, giving him a passage on board a neutral ship to Bengal, where, upon his arrival, a subscription was directly set about for his benefit, whereby upwards of five thousand sicca rupees were raised, with which sum an annuity was purchased for his life that made him quite comfortable and happy for the remainder of his days.

I now received the Commission for swearing me as a Notary-Public, with a letter from John Prinsep, Esquire, who wrote me that at the request of our common friend, Mr. Anthony Lambert, he had effected the business though he had experienced considerable difficulty in so doing, it being necessary as a ground work for applying to the Prerogative Court of Canterbury to be admitted a Notary for such applicant, in the first instance to exhibit a certificate under the hands of two Notarys, whereby such Notarys certified that the person demanding admission was a man of education and moral character, competent in every respect to fill and to execute the duties of the station. Mr. Prinsep further observed that he had asked several Notarys

to subscribe their names to the said Certificate, upon the faith of his recommendation and avowed knowledge of me, in vain : they having all refused, not from any doubt as to capability, education or character, or caring two pence who or what I was, but from an opinion they entertained that Foreign Notarys materially affected their interest, lessening their Fees and emoluments by transacting Notarial business abroad that otherwise must have been done in London. Mr. Prinsep added, that after much trouble and much enquiry he at length found two Clerks of Bankers who, although Notarys, did not practice, which two gentlemen signed the requisite document, whereupon the Commission issued. Upon receipt of it I immediately went before the Chief Justice, Sir John Anstruther, in compliance with the printed instructions that accompanied the Commission, who forthwith administered the several oaths, affixing his name to the Jurats, and being thus executed the Commission was returned to England for the purpose of procuring the Faculty of the Lord High Chancellor, as until this was issued it was supposed the Notary could not act. The charges attending this admission was thirty-nine pounds sterling, but I understand is now increased almost threefold.

Lord Mornington, having received undoubted intelligence of Tippoo Sulstaun's hostile intentions towards the British nation, and that he was preparing for a formidable attack upon the Company's Settlements on the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, he, with his accustomed vigour and promptness, resolved to counteract the Asiatic despot's views by striking the first blow, and instead of waiting to be attacked, carrying the war at once into the enemy's country. To effect this grand and important object his Lordship determined to be present himself upon the scene of action. He accordingly embarked for Fort St. George, where he would be able to ascertain the probabilities of succeeding in his object and see his orders carried into execution with the least possible delay. A very fine army, under General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, being equipped

with extraordinary dispatch, took the field and marched against Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore and residence of Tippoo. This vigorous measure was adopted upon the sole responsibility of Lord Mornington in his capacity of Governor-General, as which he had the power of doing whatever he might deem expedient, General Harris, and many of the old officers, without hesitation, expressing their disapprobation of the measure from an apprehension that the season was already too far advanced to be able to make any impression upon a place of such uncommon strength as Seringapatam was well known to be, where an unsuccessful attack must inevitably be attended by incalculable evils, probably nothing short of the destruction of our army.

Lord Mornington, however, turned a deaf ear to all the objections that were offered from different quarters, being determined to carry into effect the plan he had formed. He did so, and his exertions were crowned with success. Nevertheless, the risk was universally considered as by far too great to have been ventured upon. In fact, his object was within a few hours of encountering such difficulties as must have defeated it, for when the British Army were about to make the attack and were within two miles of the outworks, so tremendous a storm commenced with a deluge of rain, as to induce everyone to suppose it the change of the monsoon. So much had it that appearance, that General Harris said before the whole of his staff, all further operations must be useless, but as his orders from Lord Mornington, in his capacity of Captain-General, were most peremptory and decisive to persevere at any rate without leaving him the least discretionary power, he thought it prudent not to give up the attempt. The Quartermaster-General, too, Colonel Close, an officer of extraordinary skill and judgment, advised him, notwithstanding the torrents of rain that fell and the almost impenetrable darkness of the night, to push across the river while it remained fordable, and when such a movement would scarcely be expected by the enemy.

The General accordingly issued the necessary orders ; the movement of the army and train of artillery were unnoticed in the superior noise and roaring of the tempest ; the troops and stores crossed the river with trifling loss from casualties. Most fortunate was it that Colonel Close's advice was followed, as within an hour after the army crossed the water rose so much with so rapid a stream as to render all intercourse with the opposite shore impracticable. At daybreak to the utter dismay of Tippoo Sultaun he saw the British forces drawn up in line of battle close under the walls of his capital. Although astonished, he did not lose either his spirit or his recollection. He gave vigorous orders for a vigorous defence, promising his men the highest rewards in the event of frustrating the assailants.

The English General determined to lose no time in storming the place. Soon after sunrise the weather cleared up and became fine, when another measure, likewise suggested by Colonel Close, was adopted. This was to commence the attack at one o'clock in the afternoon, being the hottest time of the day when no such daring step was thought of, much less prepared for in Seringapatam, that hour always being devoted to sleep, especially among the natives. All matters were arranged in a very masterly style, and without the least bustle, not a man appeared to be moving, and all were supposed to be indulging in rest, in order to recover the hardships and fatigue they had gone through the preceding night, when the whole suddenly burst forth like an overwhelming torrent, rushing impetuously towards the outworks of the Fort, which were immediately carried by point of bayonet. The storming parties were commanded by General Baird, and Colonel Sherbrooke, the latter having his favourite regiment, the 33rd, with him. The enemy could scarcely believe their eyes when they found the gates of their capital attacked ; Tippoo and most of his principal officers were roused from sleep with the information of that fact, and that a Highland Regiment had actually forced one of the gates, cut down the guard, and were in possession of an important bastion. A deter-

mined resistance was nevertheless made, under the orders of an old and experienced officer of Tippoo's; the conflict became most severe and bloody, for some time the issue was extremely precarious, but at length the Mussulmen were compelled to fly and yield to the irresistible valour of British Grenadiers. Within three-quarters of an hour after the attack commenced, a British ensign was displayed upon one of the bastions, and in three hours we were in complete possession of the entire works and citadel.

After the dreadful slaughter and confusion that necessarily attended the capture of such a fortress and city as Seringapatam by storm had somewhat subsided, it was ascertained that Tippoo had fallen in the conflict. His body was found amidst a prodigious heap of slain under the arch of the principal gateway where the grand stand had been made. Our loss in officers and men, although severe, was much less than might have been expected in so desperate and hardly contested a business.

By this glorious and brilliant victory our Right Honourable Governor-General acquired universal credit and applause, the merit of the thing resting entirely with him, as the original planner. His Lordship was peculiarly fortunate in having the assistance of so excellent an officer as Colonel Close to execute so skilfully in the field what had been so wisely planned in the closet.

Mr. William Johnson, whom Sir John Royds upon becoming a Judge of the Supreme Court appointed his clerk, having been suddenly carried off by a violent fever, I, as soon as I heard of the death, applied to the Knight to give me the situation, but was unfortunately too late, he having only one hour before my application given it to a cousin and namesake of his deceased friend Johnson. Sir John Royds, much to my entertainment, consoled me by assuring me on the next vacancy I should, if I pleased, be the man. What was, however, more to the purpose, he observed that he had the next nomination of Sheriff, and that he would take care to ensure me the being deputy upon equal terms with the Sheriff, that is, that instead of

the limited salary of five hundred rupees a month, I should have a full moiety of the profits of the Shrievalty. Here again I received a temporary disappointment, the Scotch jobbing Chief Justice Anstruther applying to Sir John Royds to request that, as a particular favour, he would exchange years, and let him (Anstruther) have the nomination of Sheriff for that year, a request Sir John Royds did not think it right to refuse. I was consequently thrown out.

Miss Rose Aylmer, whom I have already mentioned, soon had several professed admirers, amongst whom the most conspicuous were Mr. Charles Ricketts, a near relation of the Earl of Liverpool's, and her own first cousin, young Henry Russell, both of whom appeared to be deeply enamoured. From certain symptoms that I observed from my intimacy in the family, I entertained not the smallest doubt of the latter's being the received and favoured lover, although such a conception was highly disapproved of both by Sir Henry and Lady Russell, and the apprehension of its taking place, notwithstanding their dislike, occasioned them great uneasiness. The poor young lady, however, instead of becoming a bride, was doomed to sink into a premature grave.¹ She was attacked with a most severe bowel complaint, brought on entirely by indulging too much with that mischievous and dangerous fruit, the pineapple, against eating so much of which I had frequently cautioned her, but instead of my remonstrances being attended to they only excited her mirth, and she laughed at me for my grave sermons, as she termed what I said upon the subject. The disease made a most rapid progress, baffling the skill and exertions of the physicians. At the end of a few days this lovely young girl fell a martyr to the obstinacy of the malady, leaving poor Henry Russell truly miserable. As for her other lover, Mr. Ricketts, he very shortly after her premature death sought comfort for himself in the arms of a vulgar, huge, coarse Irish slammerkin, Miss Prendergast, sister to my friend Mr. Michael George Prendergast.

¹ She died on the 2nd of March, 1800.—ED.

A few months previous to the death of General St. Leger, Major Maxwell, not choosing any longer to submit to the hauteur with which the General treated the gentlemen of his family, left him, resigned his situation and returned to Europe, whereupon the General appointed Captain Bradshaw to succeed to the situation of Brigade-Major. Upon General St. Leger's death Major Bradshaw being once more out of employ, he returned to the Presidency for the purpose of trying his interest with the Commander-in-Chief, and through his means to gain some other public situation. Sir Alured Clarke proved his regard for his old acquaintance by obtaining for him the Brigade-Majorship to His Majesty's Troops in Bengal, which office just then became vacant by the appointment of Sir George Leith, who had held it, to the Government of Prince of Wales's Island. The pay and emoluments of King's Brigade-Major was at least twelve hundred pounds sterling per annum, besides having very elegant quarters consigned to his use, in the most eligible and airy part of Fort William. I felt sincerely rejoiced at my worthy friend's thus early getting so advantageous and honourable a post, as well as at having him a settled resident amongst us in Calcutta.

CHAPTER XIV

1800

LORD WELLESLEY'S MAGNIFICENCE. THE CAPTURE
OF THE KENT. "THE BREAD ROOM GENERAL"

MY letters of this season informed me of the marriage of my old favourite Miss Cecilia Forrest to Mr. William Windham, of Norfolk, Member of Parliament for the County, an event that gave me peculiar satisfaction from knowing it would furnish her with the means of essentially serving some branches of her family not very well off in point of pecuniary matters. Mr. Windham had long been attached to her. He was first introduced to her acquaintance at my father's.

I continued upon habits of the utmost intimacy with Sir Henry Russell's family; often having the pleasure of receiving them at my house. At one of Lady Russell's visits she was greatly struck by the extraordinary likeness she perceived to Mr. Benjamin Mee in the portrait I had of him, exclaiming: "Surely that must be the brother of my dearly-loved friend Lady Palmerston." I replied it was; whereupon she added, "Oh, how supremely happy would the possession of so correct a representation render that most amiable woman!" Upon which I, without hesitation, made an offer of the picture to Lady Russell, who thanked me cordially, saying, though she could not think of accepting my very liberal offer, she certainly should communicate it to Lady Palmerston, who would gratefully feel and acknowledge the kindness thereof.

In the month of August, Lady Russell was delivered of a fine female child, who was christened Rose, in memory of

their lamented niece, Miss Aylmer, upon which occasion that inconsistent and strange woman, Lady Anstruther, at her own urgent desire, became one of the godmothers.

Captain Murray now won his wager, by Mrs. Lloyd being brought to bed of a son only one week prior to the birth of the above-named Miss Rose Russell.

By the arrival of a ship from England I received the disagreeable intelligence that Mrs. Burke, instead of receiving the pair of shawls I had dispatched, as already mentioned, having as I conceived taken every precaution that was possible to secure the delivery of them without any charge whatsoever, had been called upon in the most vulgar and unbecoming manner to pay more for them than their intrinsic value; but which shameful demand she yielded to in compliment to me who she felt had intended her a compliment. Hurt beyond measure at hearing what had happened, I directly addressed the following letter on the subject to Mr. Laprimaudaye :

“ DEAR LAPRIMAUDAYE,

In the whole course of my life I never was so vexed as to learn by a letter that I this day received from England that the pair of shawls you at your own particular desire undertook to forward from hence to Europe, for me, instead of being delivered, according to my earnest wish and intention free of every expence whatsoever, cost my highly esteemed and respected friend Mrs. Burke, fifteen pounds, three shillings, and which amount was demanded, according to my opinion, in the most unhandsome indeed in the most blackguard, ungentlemanlike manner. I think you cannot have forgotten the circumstances attending these shawls, or that while I was arranging with my friend Captain Dance of the *Lord Camden*, about the conveyance of them through the regular channel of the India House, you by chance came in, and volunteered the execution of the commission in the way I wished : that upon my offering twenty pounds to you, which I had in my hand at the time in order to give to Captain Dance, for the purpose of defraying the expence of clearing the shawls from the Custom or India House, you declined to accept the same, observing you were largely in my debt and that your Agents in London who were in the constant

habit of managing such commissions on your behalf, would regularly clear them from the India House and pay every expence, debiting your account with the amount disbursed and for which sum when subsequently ascertained, I could give you credit in account. If therefore the firm of Messrs. Lubbock and Company be your Agents in London they have in this instance I take upon myself to say, acted with contemptible people. If they were not the persons actually and bona fide employed by you, and that you omitted to instruct whoever were your Agents, to do all that was needful according to my directions and to your promise given to me, I cannot but consider such negligence on your part as equally extraordinary and unpardonable. I would not for twenty times the sum in question that such a circumstance should have occurred. I enclose for your perusal the letter I have just received from my sister, stating this very mortifying business."

The fact was the dirty co-partnership of Messieurs Lubbock had for a considerable time acted as the Agents of Frushard and Laprimaudaye in London, but understanding that the latter firm were on the verge of failure, and being somewhat in their debt, they did not choose to advance any more cash, and in all probability had it in contemplation to convert my shawls to their own use, otherwise they would surely have made known to Mrs. Burke to whom the parcel was particularly addressed, that they had come to their hands, whereas it was not until after much enquiry and search at the India House made in consequence of my letters to my sister respecting these shawls, that it was at last discovered they had been cleared out several weeks before by Messieurs Lubbock and Company. Mrs. Burke thereupon in a polite note which she sent by one of her men servants, applied to these Lubbocks, to ask about the shawls when the vulgar scoundrels had the rudeness and insolence to return a verbal answer, telling the servant that they had such a pair of shawls in their possession, and when Mrs. Burke sent to their house the sum of fifteen pounds three shillings, and not before, she might have them.

Mr. Laprimaudaye replied to my letter, thus :

“ DEAR HICKEY,

I am exceedingly sorry for what has happened respecting the shawls, I can assure you it is no fault of mine. At the time I sent the Bill of Lading I wrote the following letter to Lubbock, Colt and Company, under date the 13th of September, 1798. ‘ We beg leave to enclose you a Bill of Lading for a pair of shawls we have shipped on board the *Lord Camden*, Captain Danco, and we have to request that you will be kind enough to clear them out from the India House, paying all the necessary expences for that purpose and when you have received them¹ with the accompanying letter to Mrs. Burke at Beaconsfield. The expences attending it we beg you will debit us for, sending us a note of the amount, it being the wish of our friend here at whose desire we forward the parcel that it may be delivered to Mrs. Burke without the smallest expence to her. As it is to oblige a very particular friend of ours, we hope you will execute this business as above.’ I had no reason to conceive but what they would have paid the amount, as they were transacting much business for us as our Agents, or you may believe I never should have proposed their doing it. I therefore trust that you will not think I neglected doing what I certainly voluntarily engaged and promised to do. We have no letters as yet from those gentlemen.

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

STEPHEN LAPRIMAUDAYE.”

About this period I am now at, Lord Mornington was gratified with the superior dignity of a Marquisate by the style and title of Marquis Wellesley, and what was equally pleasing to his vain and ambitious mind, an appointment to the rank of Captain-General, which gave him an indisputable right to interfere in all military matters, which power he had often assumed to the high displeasure of the Commander-in-Chief. Under this new Commission he acted so much as to render the public situation of Sir Alured Clarke excessively disagreeable, and as the latter

¹ Omission from MS. is probably “deliver them.”—ED.

gentleman found himself deprived of all consequence and all responsibility in everything material that related to the army, he began to turn his thoughts towards Europe.

These new honours of Marquis and Captain-General, His Majesty and the East India Company were pleased to confer upon the noble Governor-General of Bengal, in consequence of his well-concerted and equally well-executed campaign in Mysore, whereby he absolutely annihilated the thentofore stupendous power and influence not only of Tippoo Sultaun, but of every remote branch of that illustrious warrior family.

Marquis Wellesley was in no way sparing of the Company's cash. His Lordship's own establishment of servants, equipages, etc., were extravagant in the superlative degree, not only in point of number, but splendour of dress, the whole being put to the account of the chaste managers of Leadenhall Street. Not content with all this parade of suite, the newly created Marquis gave directions for various improvements and alterations to be immediately carried into effect, not only within the town of Calcutta itself, but in the environs. One of the most marked and decided of these improvements was a new road sixty feet wide which was carried completely round the town of Calcutta, except towards the river Hooghley, to an extent of eight miles. A prodigious improvement it assuredly was, not only proving conducive to the health of the inhabitants in general, but likewise affording an agreeable morning or evening ride to those Europeans who were fond of exercise. His Lordship also determined upon building a palace suitable to his magnificent ideas, and such a one as would be proper for the residence of the British Governor-General of India. This he immediately caused to be commenced, partly upon the site of the old Government House, but taking in the Council House and about sixteen other handsome private mansions, many of them not having been erected above five years, the whole of which were pulled down, the ground upon which they had stood being cleared away to create a superb open square area, in the middle of which his meditated palace was to stand.

Not content with thus squandering in every direction the funds of the Leadenhall Street managers, his Lordship had another scheme in contemplation, that of embanking the river on the Calcutta side, from the foot of the Glacis of Fort William to the northern end of the town, something of the style of the Adelphi or Somerset House in London, by forming a solid wharf of masonry the whole extent, on particular spots of which he proposed having suitable warehouses for the reception of merchandise as well as the Custom House and other public offices that he considered ought always to be contiguous to the river. Plans and drawings of this stupendous work which would have been full five miles long from south to north were made and delivered to his Lordship.

Not content with having works of such magnitude and unbounded expence on foot, he at the same time commenced a second palace at Barrackpore, almost rivalling in magnificence the Calcutta one, which he intended as a country residence for future Governor-Generals as he could not expect it would be completed within his own reign. The grounds which of themselves were very pretty he laid out with extraordinary taste and elegance, upon different parts of which he erected a theatre, a riding-house, with probably the finest aviary and menagerie in the world, the two latter buildings being stocked with the rarest and most beautiful birds, and beasts equally uncommon, collected from every quarter of the globe. He also prepared to establish a College for the education of the junior servants of the Company on their first arrival, principally in Oriental languages, with a regular establishment of Provost, Vice-Provost, Professors of various descriptions and other officers similar to our Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. For the furtherance of the last-mentioned scheme he purchased the five first houses and grounds in Garden Reach, one of which was the late Mr. William Burke's,¹ which until then we had never been able to dispose of for near the amount of a mortgage there was upon it, which Mr. Burke in his

¹ He died in 1798.—ED.

lifetime had executed when pressed for payment or security of an old English debt to Rundell the Jeweller on Ludgate Hill.

As it was necessary there should be a representative of Mr. Burke upon the spot, in order to sign the proper deeds of conveyance of the premises to the East India Company, I at the request of the Members of Government took out Letters of Administration for that express purpose, regularly executed the deeds, and received the purchase money, being sicca rupees, thirty-five thousand, out of which sum I discharged the full amount, principal and interest of the said mortgage, being thirty-two thousand odd hundred sicca rupees. Until the intended College should be completed Lord Wellesley took upon lease a very spacious mansion which a speculating dancing master, named Macdonald had planned and erected for a Public Exchange, in the most central part of Calcutta, but which speculation not answering the proprietor's hopes and expectations he was glad to let it on lease to such good tenants as the East India Company. In this house, when fitted up as a College, there was a daily dinner provided for the students, at which meal either the Provost or Vice-Provost was obliged to preside at the head of the principal table. This whole scheme was put a stop to, and the intended College done away with altogether, by the most peremptory orders from the Court of Directors, and which orders for a wonder the noble Marquis thought proper to obey, more owing probably to an exhausted Treasury and the extreme difficulty he experienced in his attempts to raise money from private individuals upon the Company's security too, than to any real inclination he felt to comply with the absolute commands of his honourable masters.

Sir Henry Russell's eldest son was now appointed head assistant to Colonel Kirkpatrick, the Resident at the Court of Hyderabad, for which place he took his departure by land; he soon became a first-rate favourite with Colonel Kirkpatrick, who wrote to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal in terms of the highest panegyric, saying he,

Henry Russell, conducted the duties of his office in so masterly a manner as to do himself as well as the Resident infinite credit. Praises of such a nature from such authority afforded Sir Henry and Lady Russell the greatest delight.

Sir John Anstruther during the long vacation of this season made an excursion up the country as far as Benares, accompanied by the junior Doctor Hare, nephew to my friend and medical adviser, and Mr. Anthony Mactier, his (the Chief Justice's) clerk. The party stopped to take a view of my little Château of Chinsurah, with which Sir John expressed himself greatly pleased. He afterwards declared that while absent from Calcutta, he had not met with better fare in any respect, than he did at my house.

The *Cornwallis*, armed ship, arrived from England in September, after a fine passage of three months and twenty days from Portsmouth. This vessel brought us an account of Admiral Duckworth's important capture from the Spaniards. By the same ship I received intelligence of the death of my old school-fellow and client, Mr. William Larkins, who lived but a short time to enjoy himself in his native country amongst his family after his return from Bengal. He had for several years been dreadfully afflicted with the stone, which disease at last proved fatal.

Another capture of one of the Company's ships now occurred, made, too, by the same Surcouff I have already spoken of, which in the effect was equally extraordinary, although clearly not so disgraceful as that of the *Triton*; it happened to the *Kent*, outward bound, which ship, when within a few leagues of Balasore roads, fell in with Monsieur Surcouff, then cruising in a beautiful little frigate of twenty-four guns, with nearly a double complement of men for the purpose of annoying the British merchant service as well as the chance of meeting with an East Indiaman. The *Kent* was not like the *Triton*, taken by surprize; she was perfectly aware of what the strange sail in all probability was, notwithstanding the deception of her shewing English colours, and prepared accordingly. All hands were at Quarters, guns run out, and matches

lighted, when the stranger ranged up alongside, whereupon the Captain of the *Kent* hailed, asking what ship that was, and not receiving a satisfactory answer, he fired a shot close ahead of the strange ship, upon which the latter instantly hauled down the English ensign, hoisted a French one, and returned a broadside.

The *Kent*, being tolerably well manned, besides having a number of passengers on board, all of whom were well disposed to defend her to the last extremity, prepared for a vigorous defence. Among the passengers of the *Kent* was the Honourable General St. John, a brother of Lord Bolingbroke's, also his aide-de-camp, Captain Pilkington. The *Kent* shortened sail to let the strange vessel come up, which they did under a crowd of sail, and a sharp conflict ensued with the great guns, supported by musketry from the poop. After being warmly engaged upwards of an hour, the Frenchman threw his main-topsail aback, immediately dropping astern, whereupon the crew of the *Kent* gave three hearty cheers, under an idea that the enemy were sick of the encounter and had relinquished all hopes of success, but in a few minutes afterwards she was observed to be again making sail, having repaired the damage sustained in her rigging. The third officer of the *Kent* then observed to the Captain he was convinced from their manœuvres their intention was to attempt carrying the ship by boarding. The Captain treated this opinion of his officer's with contempt, indignantly observing, "A likely thing indeed that such a vessel as that, which is a dozen feet below the level of our upper deck should have the presumption to attempt boarding, it is utterly impossible."

In the very moment that the Captain thus decidedly and positively gave his sentiments upon the occasion, the carpenter, who was an old, experienced seaman, and had been anxiously watching every motion of the enemy, suddenly called out to the officers upon the quarter-deck, "By God, they are coming up to board us." This however had no effect, nor were any precautions taken to meet such an attempt. The male passengers were standing on the

poop, most of them being armed with cutlasses, where they remained gaping at the Frenchman, which vessel, without firing another gun, ran up close upon the *Kent's* larboard quarter, purposely entangling their fore rigging with the mizzen shrouds of the *Kent*. Having effected that part of their plan they jumped by scores from their fore shrouds, fore yard, and top, upon the poop and mizzen of the *Kent*, tomahawk in hand, with which desperate instrument they hacked about them like mad savages most of them being intoxicated, according to the custom of Frenchmen when about to proceed upon any desperate service. They were gallantly received by a few British tars, who were nobly supported by the passengers, who with their cutlasses destroyed several of the assailants, but fresh numbers continuing to board and supplying the place of their comrades who were killed, the poop and quarter-deck were soon cleared, not a single Englishman remaining. The *Kent's* colours were then hauled down by the French themselves, one of their own ensigns being hoisted in its stead. Surcouff who, in the dress of a common seaman, that he might not be distinguished, was one of the first that boarded, now assumed the command of the prize.

The Commander of the *Kent* with eleven of her crew were killed in the action, as was likewise Mr. Cator, a passenger (his wife—one of the sisters of my *Seahorse* shipmate Mr. Robert Morse—and daughter being unfortunately on board to witness the untimely death of husband and father), also a young writer named Graham upon the Bengal Civil Establishment who was going out to his father, Thomas Graham, Esq., one of the senior servants of the Company in Bengal. Amongst the wounded were Captain Pilkington, most desperately by the stroke of a tomahawk, which laid one side of his face from the temple to his throat entirely open, so that for three weeks he remained in a very dangerous and precarious state, the Surgeon scarcely having a hope of saving him; he however ultimately recovered, and wonderfully fast after the wound began to heal, and Mr. Ewer, eldest son of my friend Mr. Walter Ewer, which young man

was also a writer, but his wound was only a slight one, in his right hand.

After the French were in complete possession of their valuable prize, General St. John, whom some had supposed to have been killed and thrown overboard, suddenly to the astonishment of everybody made his appearance, unhurt, and in perfect health. All looked their surprize, not knowing from whence he came, until the fifth mate, who had been on duty upon the poop when the enemy were running up to them the first time, explained the matter by declaring that when the French ship was nearly within gun shot, but before either ship had fired, he heard the General, who was then upon the poop looking at the enemy, say to his aide-de-camp, Captain Pilkington, "Come, let us go down below, Pilkington, we have no sort of occasion to remain here." To which Captain Pilkington, with much apparent surprize, and earnestness of manner, replied: "Go down below! Surely, sir, you cannot think of such a thing, here we must remain and do our best to defend the ship should the stranger prove an enemy, as there is every appearance of her being, and attack us." The General eagerly answered, "Upon my word I shall not stay here, as I do not conceive we are in any way bound to risk our lives in attempting to defend a merchant ship, the property of the East India Company." And down he accordingly went, as it afterwards appeared, to the Bread Room, where all the females on board had been put as the place of least risk of receiving any personal injury. This part of the ship being almost in darkness, having only one dull lanthorn with a single candle hung up in it, the ladies for a considerable time were ignorant of the companion they had amongst them, but at last one of them cried out, "My God, here certainly is a man laying down at my feet for I have just trod upon him." The rest deemed this impossible and even when the fact was established, not one of the party had the least idea that the hero thus cautious of his person was no less a body than one of His Majesty's Major-Generals.

These particulars reached Calcutta some time before the

General's arrival there. It was therefore expected that he would be sent to Coventry by the whole Settlement, and such in all probability would have been the case, had not the noble Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, received him in the kindest and most respectful manner, sending his coach with six horses with a number of servants to the waterside to convey this honourable General and his lady who accompanied him to the Government House, wherein a suite of apartments were prepared for them, until a house, which by his Lordship's orders had been taken for them at the expence of the Company, could be suitably furnished and made ready to receive them.

This unexpected reception of Lord Wellesley's prevented the General meeting that contempt he merited, for the whole Settlement were mean enough to follow the example of their Governor-General, all courting the infamous poltroon. Notwithstanding this outward shew of civility, however, he was everywhere spoken of and distinguished by the title of "The Bread Room General."

Surcouff sent the whole of the surviving passengers, together with the wounded men, under the care of the Surgeon of the *Kent*, to Bengal in a country merchantman, which he captured while conducting his prize towards the Isle of France, about fourteen days after taking the *Kent*. He had behaved with the tenderest humanity to the wounded and with the utmost liberality to the British prisoners in general, especially the ladies, whom he treated with every possible degree of respect and generosity.

At the time General St. John arrived in Calcutta, Sir Henry Russell and his family were residing with me, their own house being under repair as well as painting. I had therefore an early opportunity of seeing this redoubtable Bread Room General, who, accompanied by his wife (a daughter of the celebrated Countess of Craven, now Margravine of Anspach) came to visit my guests, and were by them invited to dinner the following day, which invitation was accepted. Having by his most extraordinary care of his precious person on board the *Kent*, clearly established

what his character was with respect to spirit, the following anecdote will equally evince his deficiency in the common feelings or sentiments of a gentleman. In the evening of the day he dined with Sir Henry Russell, while taking our coffee, he said he should be much obliged by my allowing him to speak to me apart, as he was desirous of mentioning a matter of business. I therefore conducted him into my study. He there observed that an attempt had been made to cheat and impose upon him by the steward of the *Kent*, which, being determined not to submit to, he had to request that I would use such measures as might be requisite, on his behalf. Upon asking him what were the particulars of the case, he answered, the story was too long to detain me upon at that time, but that I should be made fully acquainted with it next day by his aide-de-camp, Captain Pilkington, whom he would send to me for the purpose, as he hoped that gentleman was now sufficiently recovered to leave his apartment.

The following morning Captain Pilkington came to my office. I found him an elegant and interesting young man in appearance and address, but looking wretchedly pale and ill, from the severe pain and confinement, in consequence of the dreadful wound he had received on board ship, his face being still so bound up as to make it difficult for him to talk much; he therefore, after introducing himself, stated his situation, and that to avoid the necessity of speaking he had committed the circumstances upon which General St. John wished my assistance to writing. From this document I discovered that twelve or thirteen days prior to the *Kent's* falling in with Monsieur Surcouff, General St. John having been informed by his servant that the ship's steward had amongst his investment of private trade for Bengal, some prime articles of saddlery, likewise the best London made shoes and boots, which he knew his master to be in want of, the General expressed a desire, if they could be got at, that he might see them in order to select for himself such as he approved. Being stowed in the gun room they were produced immediately, and carried

into the General's cabin, when he picked out a Cavalry officer's saddle, bridle, and complete accoutrements, a plain hunting saddle and bridle, with several pair of shoes and boots, putting a pair of the latter upon his legs, and continuing to wear them the remainder of the voyage. Having thus possessed himself of these things, he went to his bureau to take out the requisite sum to pay for them, but finding if he did so it would take away all his cash, he told the steward he would settle with him upon their getting to town (meaning Calcutta). The terms of the purchase were that he was to pay fifty per cent in addition to the prime cost, the steward observing that those sort of articles always yielded a hundred per cent in Bengal, but he did not choose to refuse the General's having them, although he would give no more than half that profit.

The General having thus made the purchase retained the things, delivering them over to the charge of his servant to stow with the rest of his baggage. Having fairly enough stated the foregoing particulars, the case then went on to say, that the ship being afterwards taken by a French privateer, previous to reaching her destined port, General St. John could not consider himself in any way liable to be called upon for payment of things he was thus deprived of, though he further admitted the loss would fall upon the steward, who had actually paid the London tradesmen, and was not himself insured in any part of his investment. I was so much surprized at such a paltry attempt to evade the discharge of what I considered a just debt, that I without the least scruple delivered my opinion upon it in pointed language to Captain Pilkington, who perfectly coincided with me, observing he had taken the liberty of more than once saying to the General he thought the refusal improper if not altogether contrary to justice. I then requested Captain Pilkington would communicate to General St. John what my sentiments were upon the occasion, and that my advice was by all means to settle with the man by paying the demand.

Captain Pilkington did so, but called upon me again the

following day to say, notwithstanding his most earnest endeavours to persuade him to adopt my advice, the General remained obstinately determined to defend any action which the steward might presume to commence, for he would not be imposed upon. I thereupon told Captain Pilkington that under such circumstances General St. John must find some other Attorney to act for him, as through my professional life I had made it a rule never to undertake what I thought a dirty or disgraceful cause, and in no other point of view could I consider the one in question. In consequence of this message from me General St. John did find another Attorney, not so scrupulous as myself, who defended an action for goods sold and delivered which was commenced by the steward until Briefs were drawn and delivered to Counsel previous to trial, when the leading Advocate retained on the part of the litigiously disposed defendant, upon reading the case stated, sent for the Solicitor employed to ask who had advised defending such a cause. The Solicitor replied no professional man had done so; on the contrary, one (and he named me) had positively refused to act in it. The Advocate observed he wished that he (the Solicitor) had behaved with equal propriety, for according to his own statement there was not a shadow of ground for refusing to satisfy the Plaintiff's demand. The Solicitor said the General insisted upon defending the cause. "Why then, tell this famous General to go into Court and plead for himself," said the Advocate, "for I should blush to rise and utter a single syllable upon so disgraceful an occasion, and clear I am that such must be the feeling of every gentleman at the Bar."

General St. John, upon being informed what his own Counsel had said, did condescend to pay the Plaintiff's demand, with the addition of several hundred rupees costs. Such a line of conduct requires no comment, it was worthy only of a Bread Room General. In seeking security thus among the females on board the *Kent* this gallant officer followed the example of my truly stupid shipmate of the *Nassau*, Captain Bentley.

The dispute relative to the time of the commencement of the eighteenth century now occasioned much acrimony and warmth of argument, amongst a few individuals in Calcutta, some of whom contended that undoubtedly it began on the 1st of January, 1800. A very large majority of the Settlement, however, being more reasonable (at least so I conceive), were of opinion that one hundred years were indispensably requisite to constitute a century, consequently the whole of the year 1800 would be included, nor would they patiently endure the doctrine of the other party who strenuously insisted and really seemed to have persuaded themselves that from the 1st of January of the year One to the 31st of December, 1799, made one hundred years ! Although these very persons could not be prevailed upon by their own arithmetic to accept ninety-nine gold mohurs as complete payment where one hundred were due.¹

¹ This paragraph exactly follows the author's words. It is confusing —ED.

CHAPTER XV

1800-1801-1802

SHUMSED DOWLAIL. THE FRUSTRATED EMBASSY FROM PERSIA. BREAKING UP THE CHINSURAH HOME

IN November, 1800, I received the following handsome complimentary letter from Lady Palmerston in consequence of my having offered Lady Russell Mr. Benjamin Mee's portrait, in order to forward the same to her.

“ To William Hickey, Esq :

MY DEAR SIR,

I can find no words that can do justice to my feelings on reading your letter to Lady Russell containing an offer so kind towards me, and at the same moment conveying so tender a regard to the memory of one who loved you, my dear Sir, with the most unfeigned affection. He was indeed bound to you by every tie of esteem and gratitude, for his misfortunes seemed only to heighten your friendship. Much as you may believe I should prize the picture in your possession, yet I could never bear to deprive you of the melancholy pleasure of retracing those features which I am sure will be for ever interesting to you, and to take from you the daily remembrance of, I may truly say, one of the most amiable and the most unfortunate of men. Be assured, my dear Sir, I never can forget this mark of your attention. When you return to England, which I trust will take place at no very distant period, I shall request a copy, and I hope you will allow me sometimes to view the original portrait, and I must flatter myself with the hope that you will permit me to consider you as a very old friend, for as such I must ever look upon one who was so true a friend to my beloved brother, a

brother who was dear to me as life, and in truth I thought I never could have survived his loss. But that Power who in his wisdom bears us down with affliction, mercifully assists us to support the blow. Yet time, in such circumstances, can do no more than soften the anguish of the wound, and the most gratifying sensation I can feel is to know that his memory is held in estimation by such characters as yourself. I beg, my dear Sir, you will believe that this is a very imperfect description of my feelings upon the subject, and that I never can portray how sensible I am of your kindness on the past and present occasion, and I further beg you will do me the justice to believe that my gratitude is only equalled by your kindness, and that you who could make such an offer, may conceive what my sentiments are thereon. Wishing you, my dear Sir, an uninterrupted enjoyment of happiness and health, I remain with the highest esteem and consideration

Your most faithful and most obliged,

HANOVER SQUARE,
9th June, 1800."

M. PALMERSTON.

Upon the above letter reaching me I forthwith had a copy made of the picture therein alluded to by Mr. Home, an artist of some celebrity at that time, pursuing his profession in Calcutta, and when completed I kept the copy so made, dispatching the original to Lady Palmerston. It arrived in safety, but unfortunately when her Ladyship was suffering under the daily apprehension of losing her much-loved husband, Lord Palmerston, a melancholy event that shortly afterwards did happen; which misfortune, she with great sensibility touches upon in the following letter, likewise addressed to me.

"William Hickey, Esq., etc.

BROADLANDS, ETC.

MY DEAR SIR,

You will I doubt not have received an account of the melancholy cause which has so long prevented me from attempting to express what I have felt for the most affectionate proof you have given me of your friendship to one of the most beloved of brothers in having allowed his sister to become possessed

of a remembrance so animated as almost to persuade me whilst regarding the canvas that the lamented object was still in existence.

At the moment when I received this invaluable treasure my heart was sinking under the apprehension of one of the heaviest misfortunes human nature is appointed to suffer, and I now, my dear Sir, have to weep over the grave of the most affectionate of husbands, as well as over that of the most amiable of brothers. You who have shewn so much tenderness and feeling will need no further proof that my silence has not arisen from any ingratitude or inattention.

I never can express the sort of consolatory gratification I experienced from reading those sentiments contained in the letter you did me the honour to write in February, 1801. The contents will be engraven on my memory until the last hour of my existence. Such an attachment evinced to him who was so dear to me, can alone be justly valued by those who loved like me, My only regret is that your indulgent kindness to me has deprived you of so great a treasure as the portrait I now possess.

I have taken the liberty of sending you by the ship *Countess of Sutherland* a pair of Lustres, which if you will do me the honour to place in your apartment and receive them as a small tribute of gratitude, esteem and real attachment, you will confer a high additional obligation to the many already bestowed upon,

My dear Sir,

your most faithful,

most obedient and most sincerely obliged,

M. PALMERSTON."

This truly worthy and respectable woman was so affected by the death of her much-loved Lord as never to enjoy a day's health or happiness after it happened, and in a very few months she occupied a vacant space left in the vault for the purpose by the side of the remains of her lamented husband.

In the November Term I tried a Cause of considerable importance to my friend Michael George Prendergast, Esquire, whom the Company, under the advice of their pompous Advocate-General, Mr. William Burroughs, thought proper to attack in the Supreme Court as one of

the securities for Mr. Robert Grant, a gentleman in their Civil Service who had held the situation of a Paymaster, and who upon being required to settle his accounts was found to be a defaulter to a large amount, whereupon an action was commenced against Mr. Prendergast upon the security bond which he had executed in the penalty of two lacs of sicca rupees. The defence we set up was a wilful consequently unjustifiable negligence on the part of the plaintiffs, besides laches in various instances, and that too after having had notice given them that it had become necessary for the safety of themselves as well as that of the securities, for Mr. Grant to retain a large sum of money the property of the said Mr. Grant and which it was known must pass through the Public Treasury, but instead of attending to the information thus furnished, or in any manner availing themselves of it, they not only paid that very sum but several others subsequently to the order of Mr. Grant, notwithstanding it was then strongly suspected he was greatly in arrears as Paymaster. This defence we supported by such a body of evidence as to establish it to the entire satisfaction of the Court, who consequently gave a judgment of Nonsuit. From which, however, the Company appealed to His Majesty in Council, where they proved equally unsuccessful, the judgment of the Supreme Court of Calcutta being affirmed, the Lords of the Privy Council pronouncing the Plaintiff's appeal frivolous and vexatious, for which reason exemplary costs were given.

Upon His Majesty's 33rd Regiment embarking for the Coast of Coromandel, they were replaced by the arrival of the 10th (General Fox's) from England, with the Commanding Officer of which, Lieutenant-Colonel Quarrel, the two Majors, Holmes and Mellifont, Captains Hill, Newman, and Eames, also the head surgeon, Mr. Bennion, I became very intimate, often inviting them by two or three at a time to my parties at Chinsurah, to their great gratification, an attention and civility they returned by frequently asking me to their Mess, which was kept in a style fully equal if not superior to that of the 33rd. So often did I

partake of their hospitality that Major Barrington Bradshaw used facetiously to observe to our mutual acquaintances, he was quite sure that Hickey was eating his way to an Ensigny in that regiment. The 10th had beyond comparison the finest Band of Music of any Corps in His Majesty's service. Lord Wellesley soon became so convinced of their superior excellency, that he never rested until he got every man of them into his own immediate service.

Sir John Royds being to appoint the Sheriff for the ensuing year, 1801, nominated Edward Thoroton, Esq., to the office, and that gentleman by the Judge's desire appointed me his Deputy or Under-Sheriff.

On the 20th of December, Mr. Thoroton as Sheriff and myself as Under-Sheriff, took charge of the Jail. Among the number of persons delivered over to us was the Nabob Shumsed Dowlah, a state prisoner who had been in confinement upwards of a twelvemonth, under an order of Government. He was by far the most accomplished native in India I ever was acquainted with, being an excellent general scholar well versed in history both ancient and modern, and understood the English language wonderfully, considering he never had received the least instruction and had taught himself through the medium of a grammar. He did not speak English so fluently as he wrote, and being aware thereof, always spoke with great diffidence, indeed it was not until many months after I became known to him that I discovered he could speak English at all.

This Shumsed Dowlah was brother to the Nabob of Dacca, and had from his birth been taken great notice of by the gentlemen of that station; his brother was a sincere and steady friend to the English, but Shumsed Dowlah, having been successfully tampered with by some persons, hostile to the British interests, entered into cabals and plots that being discovered led to his arrest and confinement. When I first saw him he appeared to me to be about forty years of age. I was particularly struck by the ease and elegance of his address. After several conversations I became warmly interested about him, and I had ultimately

the gratification of feeling that I had been instrumental in first obtaining his release from imprisonment, and subsequently a general pardon from Sir George Barlow, then Governor-General, for which he, in various letters, expressed his high sense of gratitude, declaring to everybody he knew, that to me alone, was he indebted for his liberty. He said to two or three of my native friends that he felt himself under greater obligations to me than he ever could repay, but however inadequate words might be to express his gratitude, he hoped soon to have it in his power to shew his sense of it by a more suitable return. I therefore certainly did expect some handsome present when he should have reached his family mansion at Dacca, but I was disappointed, for after he left Calcutta I believe he never bestowed a single thought upon me. At any rate, I never received anything whatsoever from him, not even a single piece of muslin.

Having invited Sir Henry Russell and his family to end the year and the century with me at Chinsurah, after having arranged the business of entering upon the new Shrievalty, Mr. Thoroton kindly undertaking to attend to the duties of the office during my absence, on the 23rd of December, 1800, Sir Henry Russell, Lady Russell, a young lady then recently arrived from England who resided with them, the sweet little infant Rose Russell and her nurse Mrs. Ryan, an uncommon fine woman, set off in my boat for Chinsurah, which place we reached by two o'clock in the afternoon ; being there joined by Major Holmes of His Majesty's 10th Regiment, Captain Eames of the same Regiment, Mr. Robert Ledlie, and Mr. James Simpson, Barristers of the Supreme Court, all of whom I had requested to join us for a few days. This company with Mr. Birch's family, and some other neighbours that occasionally added to our number, made the house very gay and cheerful. Time glided away in the utmost harmony and good-humour. Both Sir Henry and Lady Russell have often declared since that those were amongst the happiest days of his life.

On the 31st of December I had a particularly jovial company with a merry dance in the evening. At the moment of midnight the church bells struck up a peal, and we all drank a bumper, standing, to the new century. On the 3rd of January, 1801, we all returned to the Presidency in order to prepare the necessary business for the Term which was to commence on the 7th instant.

Early in this year (1801) the 10th Regiment received orders to prepare themselves to embark upon foreign service. Several battalions of the Company's Sepoys at the same time having similar orders, the destination of the expedition was kept a profound secret, from which many persons conjectured that it was intended for the Mauritias, while others conceived the object to be Manilla, and some Batavia. As it turned out neither of the guessers were right, Egypt being the country to which they were to go, there to co-operate with an army that would meet them from Europe, when the whole were to act under the command of that gallant veteran, Sir Ralph Abercrombie. The object of this army was to counteract the hostile intentions of the French, who had already established themselves in some of the principal towns and fortresses belonging to the Turkish Empire, and but for the interruption they met with from the British Forces would soon have overrun the whole country.

The Bengal detachment, during its progress towards the main army, was commanded by an officer of distinction, Major-General (now Sir David) Baird, my friend Mr. John Rider being appointed Paymaster. These troops from Bengal ultimately proved of the greatest service, being very instrumental in carrying into effect the object of the British Government, but it cost poor Mr. John Rider his life. Being naturally corpulent and from a long habit of indulging himself become extremely indolent, he did not much relish the office he had got, although particularly advantageous; knowing, however, that the nomination was meant as a favour, and to put him in the way of fortune, he did not deem it prudent or right to decline it and embarked with the troops. But the moment he heard the detachment were to

march across part of the Desert of Arabia, from the neighbourhood of Suez towards Alexandria, he gave himself up entirely declaring he never should survive to reach the last-named place. Notwithstanding this desponding opinion of his he bore the fatigue of the first few days remarkably well when he unluckily took it into his head to make a dash onwards in advance of the party to which he was attached, though strongly advised against so doing. His sole object was to get through the horrors of the desert with the least possible delay. The day following that on which he adopted this ill-judged plan, proved uncommonly oppressive from the heat. He travelled on horseback, having with him only one person who acted in the double capacity of Secretary and kind of factotum or upper managing servant; his name was Nathan Goldhawke.

About nine in the morning of the second day Mr. Rider came up with the advanced guard of the detachment who were just then pitching their tent, meaning to halt during the hours of intense heat and renew their march a little before sunset. The Commanding Officer of this advanced party exerted his utmost endeavours to persuade Mr. Rider to stop for the day and not attempt to proceed under the influence of a heat scarcely to be endured, even when sitting still. The Surgeon belonging to the party also observed on the folly of unnecessarily courting illness, assuring him he could not expose himself to the scorching rays of a midday sun without running great risk of producing dangerous illness. Mr. Rider notwithstanding all the good advice offered him, was obstinate. After taking some refreshment he mounted his horse, and had continued his journey till near two o'clock in the afternoon, when he suddenly became so extremely indisposed as to be incapable of sitting his horse. When thus attacked he was in the most dreary part of the desert, not a blade of grass or a single shrub of any kind was to be seen all around, as far as the eye could reach, being one dismal scene of nought but burning sand and unclouded sky. In this forlorn wild was he obliged to lay himself down upon the scorched ground being unable

to move, and in two hours after so doing, drew his last breath. His distressed companion, Goldhawke, with hands and feet, contrived to scrape a hole large enough to receive the corpse of his unfortunate master. After covering the body as well as he could, he by the aid of his pocket compass, bent his course back towards the party they had that morning passed, and happily fell in with them about eight o'clock in the evening on their march.

In the month of February I had a violent attack of erysipelas in my leg, which confined me in bed an entire week, during which I underwent more agonizing pain than I had ever before felt. The disorder at last yielded to the indefatigable attention and skill of Doctor Hare.

At this period I had the management of a matter of some importance arising out of the following case: The firm of Cockerell, Trail and Company had been cheated to a very large amount by a confidential servant of theirs, a Portuguese named Rowland Scott, who had been many years in their employ as head book-keeper, and under or assistant cashier. The House, upon discovering this roguery in Scott, endeavoured to persuade him to give up what he had embezzled, but he not being able to restore above a fourth part of the amount, they issued a writ against him, upon which he was arrested and immediately conveyed to Jail. After having thus secured Scott, they next called upon Nemychurn Mullick, who was their Banian, to make good the amount they had thus been robbed of by Rowland Scott, alleging that he, in the capacity of Banian, was responsible for all embezzlements committed by any of their servants. This Nemychurn Mullick denied, insisting that his personal responsibility extended only to native servants employed in the Counting House, and not to men situated as Mr. Scott was, who long before he, Nemychurn Mullick, became their Banian, had been in their unlimited confidence, never having in any one instance accounted with him, as the native clerks always did, nor had he, Nemychurn Mullick, ever interfered with him, Scott, in any way whatever.

The co-partners then filed a Bill in Equity against Nemychurn Mullick, two of his younger sons, and a nephew who acted as a writer to his uncle, which suit I defended, and successfully, a decree being pronounced in favour of the Defendants who were likewise adjudged their costs. The upstart, purse-proud coxcomb, Mr. Burroughs, leading Counsel for Cockerell and Company, recommended an appeal to His Majesty in Council, hoping thereby to overturn the judgment of the Supreme Court. The measure he advised was accordingly adopted but without that success the vain man flattered himself with, for the judgment of the Calcutta Court was confirmed, to the great mortification of the appellants, as well as of the Advocate-General who had arrogantly presumed that the weight of his transcendent abilities must convince the Lords of Council, for just after the decision of the cause in the Supreme Court, at which time he had amassed a large fortune, he embarked for Europe, with the papers of the Appeal under his charge, and he personally attended the progress of the business, particularly that of preparing the printed case, finally attending the hearing at the Cockpit at Whitehall, where he had the mortification to find how egregiously he had been mistaken, and the heavy additional and unnecessary expence he had put his clients to.

From the successful issue of this cause I gained much credit, as did my brother in London, for the able manner in which he managed the Appeal. The business of my office increased prodigiously; so much so, that I was obliged to decline undertaking the Causes of many clients that offered themselves to me. Thus passed the year 1801, during the whole of which I spent as much of my time as the duties of my profession would allow of at Sir Henry Russell's.

In little more than two years after Lady Russell's arrival in Bengal, she had a further increase of family by bringing forth a fine boy, who was christened by the names of George Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, then General Lake, but who afterwards became a Baron and Viscount, being one of his godfathers. This little fellow was her Ladyship's

tenth child, equally divided as to sex, there being five girls and the same number of boys

Early in 1802 I received a letter from Arthur Forrest saying he was appointed chief Engineer upon the Island of Ceylon, then under the government of Mr. North. He further wrote me that he was at the head of the list of Captains in his Corps and hoped very shortly to obtain the rank of Major, which expectation had induced him to take a second wife, his first having, as he said, departed this life in England. I however afterwards found that this was not the case, his former lady continuing alive and in perfect health, bestowing her fondest affection upon an only son who from his birth had been wholly neglected by his capricious father. Meeting with a girl at Columbo, who had stopped there on her passage towards Bengal, he became desperately enamoured of her, and not being able to obtain possession of her person by any other means than wedlock, he gave out that he had received letters announcing the death of his wife in England, for whom he actually put on mourning: in a few weeks tendered himself to his new flame who accepted his proposals and they were married! Thus allowing his passions to lead him to the commission of a crime that preyed so much upon his mind as to cost him his life. Finding his culpability likely to be discovered, so harassed him as to produce a fever which terminated his existence.

Arthur Forrest's son by his first wife is now of age and I hear likely to enjoy the West India property, the heavy debts with which it was encumbered being nearly cleared off. By his ill-judged second connection, he had one child, a daughter; whether she be living or not I cannot tell. The mother, after Forrest's death, married very well in Bengal. The same conveyance that brought me the foregoing intelligence, also communicated to me the death of another old friend at Columbo, the reverend Mr. Rosenhagen. He had been appointed Chaplain to the British Settlement on the Island of Ceylon, where he resided little more than a year when carried off by a fever.

In February the *Sensible*, frigate, was wrecked upon the coast of Coromandel. She was most unaccountably run upon a rock as well known as any in the Indian Seas, during fine moderate weather too, for which extraordinary piece of negligence the master was brought to a Court Martial and cashiered.

In the following month, March, we received news of a Peace, having been concluded between Great Britain and France, an event at which everybody was extremely elated. Lord Wellesley, in consequence of it, gave a most splendid entertainment to the whole Settlement.

About this period an accident occurred that occasioned much sorrow in Calcutta. A young gentleman, named Hussey, a nephew of the great Mr. Macnamara's, and a man of the most engaging manners, with uncommon talents, who was fast rising into eminence, being one morning about to take his usual exercise on horseback, had scarcely seated himself in the saddle when the animal which was a high-blooded Arabian, taking fright at something he saw, suddenly set off at full speed, and after running only a few hundred yards threw his rider, who in the fall most unfortunately pitched with his head against a corner of a brick drain, with such violence as to beat a large piece of his skull in, and he was killed upon the spot, a party of friends who were engaged to dine at his house that very day, instead of partaking of his hospitality and enjoying his convivial powers, followed in mournful procession at his funeral.

His mother's brother, Mr. Macnamara, a deep-read and profound lawyer, but who being a Catholic could not be called to the Bar, was the gentleman respecting whom Lord Thurlow said, "He (Lord Thurlow) was under more obligation to the Catholic religion than any other person in Great Britain as he owed the being Lord High Chancellor to it, for had not those tenets stood in the way most undoubtedly Macnamara would have filled the office instead of him." Mr. Macnamara was a great friend of the Prince of Wales's, His Royal Highness frequently dining with

him both at his villa in Streatham and in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and always declaring he saw no dinners comparable to his.

By the ship *Comet*, Captain Thomas Larkins, Sir Henry Russell's second son, Charles, arrived, being appointed a Cadet in the military service of the Company upon the Bengal Establishment. Charles appeared to be a fine dashing youth.

Thomas Scott, Esq., who filled the situation of a Master in the Supreme Court, having realized as much wealth as contented him, resigned his office with a view of returning to his native country, whereupon Sir Henry Russell prevailed upon the other Judges to name his protégé, Mr. Edward Lloyd, as the successor. Immediately after having accomplished which, Sir Henry, in the kindest manner, came to my house to say that if I thought his Clerkship worth my acceptance, it was much at my service, having become vacant by Lloyd's succeeding Mr. Scott as Master: that if I accepted it he should neither expect nor desire me ever to take any trouble by attending upon him or otherwise, his sole object in making the offer being my advantage. Of course I gladly availed myself of the generous proposal, and thus once more filled the lucrative situation of Judge's Clerk, without having the smallest degree of personal trouble, an Armenian, whom I engaged for the purpose, doing the whole duty, and taking special care never to omit entering in his daily book any business done before the Judge upon which I, as Clerk, was entitled to a fee.

A day or two after Sir Henry Russell's above-stated visit, Sir John Royds called at my house to inform me that he had the next nomination to Sheriff, and intended to appoint Edward Benjamin Lewin, Esquire, to whom he had already communicated his intention, adding a desire that he (Mr. Lewin) would make me his Deputy or Under-Sheriff, which he had answered he should be most happy to do on every account, as well as from the experience I had in the office from having so ably and honourably executed the duties of the office under various Sheriffs. The following day Mr.



Lewin called to request I would do him the favour of acting as Under-Sheriff for the ensuing year.

Lord Wellesley, who was now created a Marquis and appointed Captain-General in India, had long been labouring to procure an Embassy from the Court of Persia, flattering himself that such an event would materially tend to the honour and advantage of the British Nation ; an object that through the skilful management of Major Malcolm, at that time the Company's resident at the Persian Court, was accomplished. An Ambassador with a numerous and splendid retinue departed from Ispahan for the chief British Settlement in Bengal, for whose reception in Calcutta the noble Marquis made the most sumptuous preparations. A house superbly furnished with all the requisites of equipages, servants, et cetera, was made ready ; a throne of most costly and exquisite workmanship was erected in the principal apartment of the Government House, sitting upon which and surrounded by all his staff as well as Civil officers, it was his Lordship's intention to have received the representative of the Persian King. The whole plan was unfortunately frustrated by the accidental and untimely death of the said Ambassador at Bombay, which melancholy event occurred under the following circumstances, as communicated by Governor Duncan at Bombay to the Governor-General in Bengal, by the *Chiffone*, frigate, which ship, upon Lord Wellesley's special application to the Admiral, had been sent round to Bombay in order to convey the said Ambassador from thence to Calcutta.

Upon his Excellency's landing at Bombay from one of the Company's armed vessels, Governor Duncan received him with every degree of ceremonial respect, a Royal salute was fired from the ramparts of the fort, a handsome suite of apartments were prepared for his use, and a Guard of Honour appointed to attend at his place of residence. Some of the Ambassador's followers being of violent tempers, affected to treat this Guard with frequent marks of contempt, often grossly abusing them, sometimes proceeding even to blows. This at last so irritated the naturally

placid and forgiving Asiatics, as to induce resentment of the insults, and one afternoon each party became so enraged against the other that they mutually had recourse to their muskets, bayonets, and scimitars, firing from the first and outting at each other with the latter. The Ambassador, somewhat surprized at hearing a quick discharge, though irregular, of musketry, enquired the cause, when being informed thereof, and to what violences each party had had recourse, he instantly went forth, hoping his presence would put an end to the tumult. Under this humane impression he rushed into the midst of the rioters, loudly entreating them to desist. Scarcely had he reached the spot where the conflict was the most violent, when a musket ball went through his breast, lodged itself in the spine, and he fell dead upon the spot. A nephew who had accompanied him with the same laudable intention of bringing the Persian people to reason and order, likewise fell covered with wounds, from which however he happily recovered after long confinement and suffering extreme pain. Five of the Ambassador's servants were slain, and six others desperately wounded, while, on the side of the English party, not a single man received the slightest injury, a circumstance the more extraordinary as the Persians were armed with matchlocks, for which they had plenty of ammunition, and very capital scimitars, in the use of which latter weapon they are considered great proficients.

Captain Routledge of the Bengal Establishment, who commanded the honorary Guard, was at first much censured for want of energy. This Guard consisted solely of Bengal Sepoys, who had been despatched from Calcutta by sea, in order to join the general detachment then on their march for Egypt. But as they did not arrive at Bombay until some days after the troops had left that place to proceed to their destination, and no opportunity was likely to occur of allowing them a chance of overtaking the main body, they remained until vessels should come in capable of transporting them back to Bengal. These Sepoys, being in every respect the most orderly and best disciplined men of

any in the Company's service, besides being a remarkably fine-looking corps, they for all those reasons were selected to act as the Ambassador's guard.

At the time the misfortune occurred, the current report was that Captain Routledge had not exerted himself by any prudent measures to restore his men to order and regularity. A Court of Enquiry was therefore instituted, the members of which were directed to investigate every circumstance of the case most minutely. These gentlemen, after the closest investigation into every particular, ascertained beyond all doubt that so far from the slightest blame attaching to Captain Routledge, he had throughout conducted himself with the utmost prudence and adopted every possible means of quelling the riot, even at his own extreme risk, going into the midst of the rioters, seizing and taking away the arms of several who appeared particularly active and violent, and that instead of censure his conduct merited the highest praise and approbation. They further very clearly ascertained and declared that the unfortunate event occurred entirely from the uncontrollable impetuosity and violence of the Ambassador's people, a fact that was corroborated by the nephew who, as soon as he was able to speak, candidly avowed that his uncle's servants from what he saw were the aggressors, insulting and abusing the English Sepoys in a way not to be endured, and he was equally sure the firing was first begun by the Persians, his uncle receiving his death-wound from one of their pieces. Certainly it was a very untoward and unfortunate business, as well as a grievous disappointment to the noble Governor-General.

In September the remains of the detachment that had been sent from Bengal to act under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie in Egypt, returned to Calcutta. His Majesty's 10th Regiment, which formed part of it at the termination of the Egyptian campaign, instead of bending their course back to India, were ordered to England, as was supposed by way of punishment, none of the Field Officers and few of the Captains being in favour with General Baird,

who, during the march from India, issued several orders that pointed severely to that Regiment. The Sepoys, from fatiguing marches in extreme heat, with a tedious passage afterwards by sea, owing to light winds and calms, became diseased ; several died on the way, and almost the whole that landed were in a very sickly state. This occasioned a rumour to get about Calcutta that the men were afflicted with that dreadful malady the plague, which they had brought with them from Alexandria and Cairo. In consequence of so unpleasant a report the inhabitants of Calcutta were for some days kept under terrible alarm, when an advertisement appeared in the public newspapers under the authority and sanction of Government, certifying that no symptom whatever of the plague had ever made its appearance amongst either the native or European troops, the disease which had proved fatal to many of them and under which others still laboured being an obstinate dysentery accompanied by fever. Upon this comfortable intimation the panic entirely subsided.

We were at this time engaged in an arduous and bloody conflict with two different native powers of nearly equal weight and influence, both of whom were as ill disposed to and jealous of the English as men could possibly be. The Chiefs of these two powers were Scindiah, an eminent warrior, and Holkar, a soldier of fortune, possessed of brilliant talents. General Lake took upon himself the command of the army in the field, where, aided by the zeal and extraordinary attachment of the troops to himself, he led them on to perform wonders, General Lake shewing an activity of mind and vigour of body added to an ardour so persevering as to astonish all Asia. A number of sanguinary contests occurred in which many valuable officers and men lost their lives.

As I had for some time ceased my weekly visits to Chinsurah, where I was, nevertheless, obliged to keep up an expensive establishment of servants and where repairs of some kind or other were frequently required, added to which was the charge of the boat and crew, consisting of

fourteen persons, I resolved to get rid of the property, and let it go for whatever sum might be bid or offered. Having come to this determination, I advertised the premises for sale, completely furnished. After a considerable lapse of time, without anyone's coming forward to treat, Mr. Pleskett, the chief Surgeon of the Factory when in the possession of the Dutch, wrote me a letter which he commenced very civilly by apologizing for the offer he was about to make, from feeling how inadequate it was to the real value of the property, but his circumstances not allowing of his making a more liberal one, he had only to add that he could command the sum of ten thousand sicca rupees, which he would willingly pay. This amount struck me as so truly pitiful, that notwithstanding my previous determination to part with the concern at any rate, I rejected it with the utmost disdain. In a month afterwards the same gentleman, Mr. Pleskett, again addressed me offering the former sum of ten thousand sicca rupees, but that I should be at liberty to retain the whole of my plate ; liquors of every kind ; an excellent Europe billiard table, of Seddons's manufacture ; two very handsome mahogany bookcases, and other inferior articles, to the amount altogether of about five thousand sicca rupees. With this offer I, without hesitation, closed, and immediately prepared the requisite deeds, assigning over the estate to Mr. Pleskett, who upon the execution thereof paid me the purchase money and took possession. By this speculation I lost about forty thousand sicca rupees. My famous boat I sold to Mr. Robert Ledlie for three hundred sicca rupees !

In December we lost General Ellerker, a truly respectable and worthy man, whose death was as generally as sincerely lamented. A contemporary of General Ellerker's, General Brisco, was equally affected and alarmed by the demise of his brother soldier of almost the same day's rank, in consequence of which event he came to my office to request I would adopt the requisite measures for preparing his last Will and Testament, at the same time that he gave his instructions, adding, " Do, my dear Hickey, perfect this

business as speedily as you can, for, as my old chum and early companion in life, Ellerker, has been summoned away rather hastily and certainly very unexpectedly, so, as there is no determining when my turn may come, though between ourselves my poor friend Ellerker was considerably more advanced in years than I am, common prudence calls upon me to arrange my worldly concerns in order to prevent disputes and litigation relative to my estates when I shall be no more." In obedience to the directions and wishes of General Brisco, I forthwith prepared a draught of his Will, which I on the following morning sent under cover to him, accompanied by a note calling his attention to particular parts that I did not conceive to be sufficiently clear and explicit. He returned a written answer wherein he expressed his entire approbation of the manner in which I had worded the instrument, as it entirely met his wishes and his intentions : that he would more clearly explain the parts I alluded to and then return me the rough sketch in order to its being engrossed and properly executed in triplicate. He, however, neglected to fulfil his promise, putting off the completion of the business from day to day during a full month after General Ellerker's death, when he was, whilst sitting at his breakfast table one morning, suddenly attacked by a stroke of the dead palsy, and after remaining two entire days and nights utterly insensible, he expired : by which circumstance a dearly-beloved sister, as well as two or three other persons, to whom he had been warmly attached, for all of whom he had intended to make some annual provision, were deprived of the benefit of his kind intentions. He left only one son, who at the time of the General's death was a Captain in His Majesty's 76th Regiment of Foot, and several daughters, all exceedingly comely and fine young women.

On the 20th of the same month I again resumed the execution of the duties of the Sheriff's office as Deputy to Mr. Lowin.

The latter part of this year was uncommonly sickly in Calcutta, proving fatal to many. Besides Generals Ellerker

and Brisco, we lost Colonel Dyer, Company's Adjutant-General, and others of less note ; my friend Sir John Royds was reduced to the very last extremity, his death being momentarily expected for several successive hours, but contrary to every expectation and the fatal predictions of the Physicians he recovered. The disease was a fever called "the one-and-twenty days' fever," from its usually continuing during that period with unabated fury. The vulgar idea is that if you hold out for the twenty-one days you will certainly recover. There have, nevertheless, been various instances to the contrary. After Sir John Royds had laid twelve days suffering under the cruel disorder and wholly insensible, the Doctors Fleming, Hare, and Russell gave up all hope of saving their patient. I that day met Doctor Hare upon the stairs leading to the invalid's apartments, of whom I enquired as to his then situation, and received this answer : "I left him just one hour ago, as I conceive at the last gasp, but I was obliged to go to a lady that was in labour. I have not the smallest hope that he now breathes."

I waited his coming out again, when he said, "Your poor friend still exists, though his pulse is scarcely perceptible and bad as can be. It is impossible he can survive two hours more." This decisive and fatal opinion of Doctor Hare's being communicated to Sir Henry and Lady Russell, and they having also heard that a Field Officer's party were actually ordered to hold themselves in readiness, to attend the funeral in the evening, they in consequence of this melancholy news sent round cards to put off a large party that were engaged to dine with them that day, considering that it would be highly indecorous to give an entertainment in the very hour that the corpse of one of Sir Henry's colleagues was moving in sad and solemn procession to its last dreary mansion. Sir John Royds was indebted to claret for his very unexpected recovery ; during the last week of the disease they poured down his throat from three to four bottles of that generous beverage every four-and-twenty hours, and with extraordinary effect. As his apartments

were within less than half a mile of Fort William, from whence minute guns were fired during the interment of General Brisco and Colonel Dyer, which ceremonies took place during the most critical period of his illness, his friends were apprehensive that he would observe the firing, and that from conjecturing it must be upon the deaths of some persons of rank it might affect his spirits, but as he afterwards declared he either did not hear the guns at all, or, if he did, they made not the least impression nor in any way drew his attention. The same dreadful fever carried off in a very few days the eldest son of Thomas Dashwood, Esquire, a fine young man of about seventeen, who had recently arrived in Bengal

Sir John Royds was so extremely reduced and debilitated by this severe illness, that several weeks elapsed ere he could leave his chamber. After acquiring sufficient strength his medical advisers recommended his trying the sea air, as the most likely means to restore his injured frame, in pursuance of which advice he embarked in one of the Company's ships bound to Madras. After an absence of three months he returned to Bengal, certainly materially benefited by the voyage, but still bearing strong marks of the consequence of his fever.

CHAPTER XVI

1803-1804

PARTNERSHIP TROUBLES. THE WAR AGAINST THE
MAHRATTAS. GENERAL LAKE'S SUCCESSES.
HOUSEKEEPING WITH SIR HENRY RUSSELL

IN February, 1803, my esteemed friend Dr. Hare, whose health had materially suffered, partly from the climate but still more from the extraordinary labour he underwent in the exercise of his profession, took his passage for Europe, having previously introduced a nephew, who had been practising with him for upwards of two preceding years, to all the families and individual patients he attended, as his successor, myself amongst the number. Thus turned over, therefore, after the elder doctor's departure, I applied to the nephew when indisposed until the most shameful neglect and inattention on his part compelled me to quit him. Shortly previous to my respected friend's leaving us, this nephew of his married one of the daughters of William Jackson, Esquire, Register of the Supreme Court.

About this period Lord Valentia, son of the Earl of Mountnorris, being then on a tour through Asia for the purpose of making his own observations upon the face of the country, as well as the customs and manners of its inhabitants, Sir Henry Russell, having been acquainted with his Lordship in England, shewed him the most polite attention upon his reaching the British Metropolis of India. I consequently was frequently in the noble traveller's company. Botany seemed to be the principal object of his studies, at which the learned men of that quarter were somewhat surprized, because it was an established and

notorious fact that there was not a plant nor a shrub between Point Palmiras and Cabool but what was as well known as the whole vegetable production of Great Britain.

Our Westminster meetings continued as frequently and to be as zealously attended as ever. One of them was to take place at my house on the 7th of February in this year, on the day preceding which I had some friends dining with me, amongst whom was Barrington Bradshaw, who, hearing the intended party for the following day spoken of, said to me, "Do you know, Hickey, that General Fraser, who arrived two days ago from England, is a Westminster, and would, I am sure, be glad to join your set. A better fellow than he is never existed as I can vouch for, having lived in greatest friendship with him from early infancy." To this I replied that had I sooner learnt that the General was a Westminster I undoubtedly should have invited him, but could not use the liberty of doing so at a notice of only a few hours; that I should, however, feel infinitely obliged to him (Bradshaw) if he would mention the circumstance to General Fraser and say how happy he would make the Westminsters by honouring them with his presence. My friend Bradshaw observed he would apprize him forthwith, and calling for pen, ink, and paper, he wrote and despatched a letter to the General who he knew was then at the Commander-in-Chief's, Sir Alured Clarke. Within an hour a very polite answer was returned, saying that notwithstanding he was engaged to Lord Wellesley, he felt that such a notification as he had just been favoured with ought to be paramount to everything, and he should therefore make a point of begging his Lordship to excuse his non-attendance upon him that he might have the pleasure of meeting his Brethren of Westminster on the following day. He accordingly came and proved a vast acquisition, being one of the best as well as most agreeable singers I ever heard. In dress and manners he was most superiorly elegant and quite the man of fashion. From that day, until his lamented and untimely death, I lived upon terms of the utmost intimacy with him. We had

also at this meeting, which was an uncommonly full one, Colonel (now General) Murray, of His Majesty's Service, and Sir Home Popham of the Navy ; the day altogether went off to the entire satisfaction of the party, juniors as well as seniors.

Miss Mary Lloyd, who had accompanied her aunt, Lady Russell, to India, becoming tired of the climate of Asia, resolved to leave it and return to Europe. She accordingly took her passage and embarked on board the Company's ship *Lord Nelson*, then commanded by Captain Spottiswoode. When within a few days' sail of the British Channel, they were attacked by a powerful French privateer, and after a gallant resistance in which her Commander, Captain Spottiswoode, his brother, who had been in the medical line in Bengal and was returning home with a handsome fortune, Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Murray, and some other passengers of inferior rank, were slain, were obliged to strike to the enemy. During the battle Miss Lloyd conducted herself like a perfect heroine. While Colonel Murray lay a corpse upon deck, she, regardless of the shot that were flying about in every direction, took from his pocket the key of his escritoire, in which she knew all his papers of importance, besides some valuable jewels were deposited, delivering the same to the disconsolate widow, Mrs. Murray, thus, by her presence of mind and extraordinary courage, preserving property to a very considerable amount for the widow, that otherwise would inevitably have fallen into the hands of the captors. Sorry I am to add that Mrs. Murray omitted duly to appreciate this noble behaviour of Miss Lloyd, she merely presenting her with a couple of paltry pieces of muslin ! Far better would it have been not to have given anything.

The *Lord Nelson*, after being a few days in the possession of the enemy, who steered for a French port and had just made the coast of France, very fortunately fell in with a British vessel of war who retook her and conducted her safely to an English harbour.

My old medical friend, Doctor James Wilson, whose

health had been declining for some time, arrived in Calcutta and became my guest, with an intention of embarking for Europe. In a fortnight afterwards he accordingly took his passage on board the *Cecilia*, extra ship, commanded by Captain Thomas, but as the time fixed upon for her sailing approached, he became so miserable at the idea of for ever quitting a Hindostannee woman who had lived with him many years and borne him several children, that he could not prevail on himself to leave her ! After some severe struggles he finally resolved to remain in India, relinquished his apartment on board the *Cecilia*, for which the Captain made him forfeit half the passage money, returned to his station at Moorshedabad, and there in about six months finished his mortal career ; whereas had he executed his intention of leaving India he, in all probability, would have lived several years longer.

My letters this season from Europe informed me of the death of the last of the officers of the *Plassey* at the time I sailed in her, Captain Peter Douglas, her third mate, who subsequently got the command of the ship *Queen*, by which he acquired a handsome fortune, after being for some years a Bond Street lounge, and having taken to himself a smart young wife, was one morning found dead in his bed, having been carried off very quietly in a fit of apoplexy.

My partner in business, Mr. Benjamin Turner, now began to talk of leaving India ; he, in consequence, served me with a written notice of his intention to put an end to the partnership, also that he should call upon me for a large balance of cash which would prove due to him upon a final settlement of the office accounts. The general tenour and language of this notice, after our long connexion and the obligations he invariably expressed himself to feel for my conduct towards him, surprized as much as it mortified and vexed me. Yielding, therefore, to my irascible feelings of the moment I replied to his notice, likewise by writing, in such a style of reproach and resentment as to produce an immediate coolness and subsequently an absolute rupture between us.

Mr. Macnaghten, to my great regret, also began to talk of taking his family back to Ireland, there to settle for the remainder of his life.

The war against the Mahrattas went on with unabated vigour in different quarters, being conducted in Hindostan by General Lake in person. One of the first fortresses taken by our troops was that of Allyghur, where, although the attack was crowned with success, it was at a loss of officers and men so serious and destructive as to make every person admit that two or three more such victories would annihilate our power and influence in the East. His Majesty's 76th Regiment of Infantry suffered particularly both in officers and privates, no less than 16 officers of that one Corps fell killed, or so desperately wounded as to die therefrom. Immediately after the storming of Allyghur, General Lake, putting a sufficient Garrison therein, marched with the remains of his gallant fellows upwards of eight coss, or seventeen miles, a distance he effected in one day notwithstanding the most intense and oppressive heat from a burning sun, their course being over immense plains, without the least shelter. The General's object was to gain a particular spot prior to the enemy possessing themselves thereof. His small force not then consisting of more than five thousand men, and those nearly exhausted and worn out with fatigue and hunger, upon arriving within a mile of the destined ground, he had the misfortune to find the enemy already in possession of it with a formidable army, as his spies informed him, of twenty-two thousand men, a large proportion whereof were cavalry and attended by a considerable park of artillery, the whole being under the direction and command of a French officer of experience and abilities.

In this awkward predicament General Lake addressed his little band of heroes, stating fairly and candidly the desperate situation they were in. He concluded by delivering it as his decided opinion that their only chance of getting out of the dilemma they were involved in would be forthwith to attack the enemy's camp. Forlorn and desperate as such a measure undoubtedly was, the men one and all

consented to adopt it, declaring they would either conquer or bravely perish with their much-loved Commander. The General, without further hesitation, led on his handful of men to the attack, when the enemy confounded and dismayed at so unlooked for and so daring a proceeding were struck with panic and, after making a very slight resistance, fled in every direction, the glorious remains of the 76th Regiment pursuing with their bayonets and putting an immense number to death. This running fight and consequent slaughter continued several hours, until the Europeans and Sepoys were both so completely exhausted as to be incapable of further exertion. Several officers and many of the private men dropped down and expired upon the spot on which they fell. The consequences of this victory were of the utmost importance in many respects. It not only dispirited the hostile army, but furnished our army with a large supply of ammunition, of provision stores, and various military articles that they stood greatly in need of. We also, upon this glorious occasion, took upwards of sixty fine pieces of ordnance.

Soon after this very extraordinary success we received an account from the other side of India of a victory Marquis Wellesley's brother, Sir Arthur, now Marquis of Wellington, had gained after a sanguinary contest in which many valuable lives were lost. He took one hundred pieces of cannon, with the whole of the stores, camp equipage, etc. etc., of the enemy who fought most desperately, rendering the slaughter of them prodigious. In this battle His Majesty's 74th Regiment suffered beyond example, eighteen out of twenty officers were killed or wounded, together with more than four hundred of the privates. Amongst the slain was my poor friend Colonel Maxwell, who came to Bengal with General St. Leger as his Brigade-Major. He fell by a cannon shot whilst gallantly charging the enemy at the head of the 19th Regiment of Light Dragoons, which Regiment he then commanded, and which also suffered a loss of many men. Altogether nearly two thousand Europeans were slain.

The hostile army consisted of the united forces of Scindiah and of the Rajah of Berar, the latter being a prince of immense wealth and power. Scindiah, who was perfectly aware how dearly the victory had been purchased by the British and that our troops were utterly incompetent to encounter a second conflict, proposed to his ally, the said Rajah of Berar, to renew the attack before break of day on the following morning, which, if done, he would answer for it, not a single Fringy (a term of contempt applied by the Natives to Europeans) should escape. Happily the Rajah of Berar was so terrified by the slaughter of the battle already fought that he could not be persuaded to follow Scindiah's advice. On the contrary, he insisted upon continuing to retreat towards his own dominions, and actually did so, marching the remains of his army off with the utmost celerity. Had the proposal of Scindiah been acceded to and a second attack made, inevitable ruin must have been the consequence to us, as was admitted by every person of experience attached to our army.

In June, 1803, Mr. Robert Percy Smith arrived from England, having been appointed the Company's Advocate-General; Mr. Smith had also a Patent of precedence giving him rank above all the Barristers practising in the Supreme Court of Judicature. This appointment of Mr. Smith did away with that of Mr. Edward Strettell, whom Lord Wellesley had put into the situation of Advocate-General upon Mr. Burroughs's resignation thereof. It likewise deprived Mr. Macnaghten of the office of Company's standing Counsel, which was resumed by Mr. Strettell. As Mr. Macnaghten had entertained some thoughts of leaving India, this loss of his place determined him so to do by the first opportunity.

Between June and November scarce a week elapsed without our receiving accounts of battles fought by the troops of General Lake, whose personal exertions and vigour of mind and body astonished everybody that witnessed or heard of it, he being then at the advanced age of sixty-five. He was usually on horseback every morning long before

break of day, and continued so with little intermission until after sunset, often changing his horse three or four times in the course of the day. In October he took the strong fort of Agra, after a stout resistance from the enemy, and immediately after arranging some important political points in that quarter, marched in pursuit of a large body of both cavalry and infantry that were laying waste and plundering the country many miles around, and putting to the sword without mercy the wretched and unoffending peasants. A friend of mine, who held the rank of Major in our army, wrote me the following account of the above movement of the British troops :

“ CAMP AT GASSOWLY,

November 6th, 1803.

“After the conquest of the important Fortress of Agra, seventeen Battalions of General Perron's Brigade still remained to be reduced before the country could be considered in a state of any sort of security. These Battalions had proceeded to a certain distance in a direction towards the Chumbul, taking a circuitous route by the Dukhan. But while on their march receiving an invitation from Appoo Pantin, one of Scindiah's most celebrated Sirdars who commanded at Hanscy, a famous Fortification of the far-famed General George Thomas's of whom you have heard and read so much, they returned and bending their course westward came to Futteyporesing, at which place they halted and there General Lake endeavoured although without success, to negotiate with them. The General soon discovering that their intention was to deceive and amuse him until an additional Force which was daily expected should join them, he resolved to attack them forthwith and marching from Agra on the 27th ultimo he on the following day, being the 28th, arrived at Futteyporesing which place the enemy had then left, and marched on. The whole of the 29th, the British troops were detained by a heavy and incessant fall of rain. On the 30th and 31st the army pursued the enemy by long forced and harassing marches, notwithstanding which the enemy still preserved their distance from us. Our park of heavy artillery and the baggage were then ordered to be left behind under the

charge of Colonel John Powell with the second Battalion of the 2nd Regiment and first Battalion of the Fourteenth.

At seven o'clock in the evening of the 31st the British Cavalry consisting of His Majesty's 8th-27th and 29th regiments of Light Dragoons and the Company's 1st-2nd-3rd-4th and 6th Regiments of Native Horse came up with and marched towards the enemy at a very smart trot, the remainder of the cavalry following as rapidly as their tired horses would allow. The enemy however did not seem disposed to make a stand but retired towards their camp. At three the next morning, being the 1st of November, General Lake at the head of the before-mentioned body of cavalry, found himself by the reports of his scouts and hircarrahs within a few miles of the enemy's camp; he therefore halted two hours to rest both men and horses, and at six o'clock led on this compact little body to attack the enemy, who were drawn up in a very formidable line of battle with an immense park of artillery, seeming determined to meet the encounter and fight it out, handsomely. The gallant veteran at the head of his men galloped up to charge the park of guns, doing so with equal fury and celerity and after a vigorous resistance, carried them sword in hand instantly after which they pressed rapidly forward, having still the whole line to encounter which playing upon them from some light field pieces stationed on the flanks and in different parts of the line, as our troops advanced, and that too in a most skilful and well-directed manner, made such fatal havoc that our brave fellows were obliged first to stop and next to retrace their steps back through the park of guns, several of which the enemy had manned anew, and from the fire of which our men were dreadfully cut up.

Nothing daunted by this repulse, the British charged a second time, but with no better success than before, the General then in a most judicious and masterly style drew off his men to wait the coming up of the Infantry; in both these desperate attacks the Commander-in-Chief was repeatedly exposed to the most imminent danger and had some wonderful escapes, one of which was from a fellow who while he (the General) was passing him at full speed levelled his musket at him which was so close that the General with his hand put the muzzle of the piece aside from the direction of his body at which moment it went off. In these conflicts he had two horses killed under him, both having

several wounds, and he had himself six or seven shot holes made in his hat and different parts of his dress by musket balls.

About eleven o'clock in the morning our body of infantry, etc., made their appearance from the edge of a Tope which had till then screened them from our sight. Having heard the severe cannonading that took place during the two attacks made by the cavalry, they were in a state of anxiety and apprehension more easily conceived than described from knowing from the nature of their General and his band of heroes that they were likely to be too daring. So extremely anxious had both officers and men become lest some fatal event should occur ere they could get up, that they marched at a rate never before equalled by infantry and artillery. At half-past eleven in the forenoon they happily joined us, when after stopping only one single hour to recruit themselves a little by moistening their throats, orders were issued for the line to be formed and advance to attack the enemy, then but a short mile distant, for they had availed themselves of our cavalry's being twice repulsed to change their position as well as their ground, selecting a space they considered to be and which most undoubtedly was far superior and more tenable than that they had previously occupied.

General Lake, who had in the morning led on the cavalry in manner already described, so did he now head the infantry and putting himself in front of the Grenadiers of the 76th Regiment, which had been strengthened by draughts from other Corps, he in a loud voice cried out, "Come on, my gallant fellows of the 76th! Let us show our companions a good example, and convince the enemy that British soldiers are invincible." The 76th Regiment thereupon gave three hearty huzzas, which was followed by cheers throughout the whole line, native as well as European. Our Army immediately moved with a quick steady step through a tremendous cannonade from the enemy. The Commander-in-Chief perceiving the ardour of the 76th carried them beyond the bounds of prudence, and that they were so impetuously rushing on as to get considerably ahead of the rest of the Line, repeatedly called to them not to proceed so rapidly, their own officers doing the same and endeavouring to check their over-zeal. The greater part of the men obeyed the well-known voice of their revered General, but about one hundred and sixty of them continued their hasty pace, amounting in fact to a run. Thus these few men with our advanced picquets and five companies of the second Battalion

of the 16th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry White, attacked the enemy's guns, who gallantly defended them with the bayonet. After a short but severe conflict, our people were repulsed, and were even followed closely by those they had attacked. The English party after retreating a little but fighting every inch of ground, rallied, suddenly turning upon those who had been pursuing them and being by this time joined by the remainder of the 76th Regiment, with the right wing of the Line, they renewed the contest with redoubled force, finally compelling the enemy's line to fall into disorder in several places, though not without a most desperate resistance with the points of their bayonets. The following instance of savage ferocity occurred during the height of the engagement. An artilleryman belonging to the enemy, fell, severely wounded. As he lay weltering in his blood upon the ground he contrived to fire a musket at and shot a British dragoon and in the next moment cut down with his sabre a Sepoy who happened unluckily to pass near him. This determined fellow after these two violent acts was immediately put to death by some of our people.

The enemy's Battalions seeing their line in disorder, now gave way in all directions, and after an action of nearly three hours' duration, the severest perhaps that ever was fought in any quarter of the world, were most miserably mangled by our enraged Dragoons, who cut up the flying wretches without mercy or a particle of pity, the whole plain for several miles in extent being strewed with human bodies. About two thousand that escaped the dreadful carnage were surrounded, threw down their arms and were made prisoners. This body of men were with considerable difficulty preserved from being butchered by the 8th Light Dragoons who were rendered almost frantic and uncontrollable by the loss of their greatly loved commanding officer Colonel Vandeleur, who together with many other officers and privates fell in the battle. Seventy-one pieces of the finest ordnance imaginable were taken from the enemy, as was their entire camp in which were found several noble elephants, upwards of sixty camels, an immense number of horses, bullocks, etc. etc., as always are attached to an Hindostanee army in the field.

We most assuredly have been completely victorious, but at the ever to be lamented price of some as brave fellows as ever

drew a trigger or wielded a sabre. Amongst the slain we have to lament General Ware, Colonel Vandeleur, Major William Campbell, and ten other officers of inferior rank killed, besides many who lay badly, some of them very dangerously wounded, rather more than one thousand non-commissioned officers and privates being killed or wounded. Of the latter description we have full three hundred in our field hospital. Already more than forty amputations have taken place, always a particularly dangerous operation in such a climate as this. The poor suffering fellows are in a shocking state. Think of all these hardships and afflictions your friends are labouring under at the very moment you are enjoying yourselves under refreshing punkahs and gratifying your palates with choice cold claret of which beverage we have not a single bottle in our camp. Could you have believed that our worthy General could have survived the being four and twenty hours without claret. Yet so it is. He repines not on that score. Dear fellow, he is in every way a 'rara avis.' The enemy's force consisted of eight thousand infantry, all picked men and experienced soldiers, upwards of eight hundred admirably expert and well-disciplined artillery who managed their guns quite in the European manner, and more than twelve hundred cavalry. This army fought in a style and with a degree of desperation hitherto unexampled with Asiatic troops.

When the battle was over our Commander-in-Chief retired to his private tent, where he shut himself in, and was soon heard to moan and lament very piteously. In about an hour afterwards, Colonel Salkeld, the Adjutant-General, having occasion to apply to him on a matter of importance, sent a servant in to say he wished to speak to him, in consequence of which he was immediately admitted. Upon entering the tent, the General took him by the hand, and bursting into tears, exclaimed, 'Oh, my dear Salkeld, this has indeed been a dear-bought victory, for alas, how many brave men have fallen, in the fatal contest, and what a sad number of individual friends has it deprived me of! Poor Ware, and poor Vandeleur! Pray see that every possible respect is paid to their remains, as well as to all the gallant fellows whose loss we unfortunately have to deplore.'"

A gentleman belonging to the General's staff and who lived in his family, besides being upon terms of the greatest intimacy with him as a confidential friend, told me that

General Lake was not perfectly himself for two or three days after the above-mentioned severe battle. General Ware and Colonel Vandeleur were both men he was greatly attached to, not only in their military capacities, but as tried and attached friends.

Early in December Mr. Macnaghten engaged a passage for Europe on board the ship *Charlton* (then commanded by Captain Williamson), for himself, his lady, and numerous family. A fortnight previous to his departure he gave up housekeeping, sold off everything, and they all became my guests. The Master Attendant, Captain Thornhill, had very kindly kept a pilot schooner for the express purpose of conveying them to the ship. The morning I understood they were to embark, I purposely and without any previous notice got into my carriage and drove a few miles out of town, which I did in order to avoid the ceremony of leave-taking, a thing always extremely unpleasant to me, when about to separate from those I felt attached to. Upon my return home a few hours afterwards I found a very affectionate letter from Mr. Macnaghten, thanking me for letting them all escape what would have been a most distressing scene, that of the last adieus: that *he* considered my conduct upon the occasion as most kind and friendly, but in which sentiment he could not get Mrs. Macnaghten to agree, who being one of the old school, nothing would satisfy her short of a departing kiss and violent burst of tears. She therefore deemed me deficient in feeling or affection in avoiding such parting embrace!

A short time previous to Mr. Macnaghten's leaving Calcutta, he went over the whole of my office books, and being a proficient in the matter of accounts he did so with the utmost exactness. After a minute investigation, he told me he was perfectly sure that whenever a final settlement took place between Mr. Turner and me, I should find myself several thousand pounds before the world. "Now then, my dear Hickey (continued he), as you tell me you have the amount of several thousand rupees remaining unemployed in your desk, let me take one thousand pounds

sterling for you to England, which I will there turn to the best advantage, and thus lay the foundation of a future independence, such as I sincerely hope will soon draw you to England, there to unite yourself to me and mine." In consequence of this suggestion I paid into his hands sicca rupees equal to one thousand pounds sterling.

In the beginning of the year 1804 Lady Russell became so much indisposed, her health having gradually declined from the time of her little George's birth, as to induce her physician, Doctor Hare, to speak to Sir Henry and strongly advise him to send her out of the country immediately, as he anticipated another hot season in Bengal would prove fatal. Sir Henry, in consequence of so alarming an opinion from a person competent to judge of the case, insisted upon her preparing for departure, which she had no inclination to do ; Sir Henry, however, determined the matter by engaging a passage for her and the two children on board the *Preston*, then commanded by Captain Sturrock, who had been chief officer of the *Charlton* at the time Lady Russell came to India in her.

Previous to Lady Russell's leaving Calcutta she had the satisfaction to see her niece, the daughter of a brother of Sir Henry's, married to the eldest son of Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, a young man of one-and-twenty just appointed a supercargo to China. The match was considered equally respectable and advantageous for the young lady. Miss Russell was then a remarkably smart and clever girl.

The *Preston*, with three other Indiamen destined to accompany her, was expected to sail early in February. In the very commencement of that month Lady Russell wrote a note to me desiring to have an interview, she having a request of the utmost importance to her happiness, to make of me. I accordingly went direct to Chouringhee, when I found what she wanted was to entreat that upon her leaving Bengal I would consent to Sir Henry's joining me in house-keeping until Mr. Lloyd should be prepared to receive him by his wife and family's embarking for Europe which they

were preparing to do. Lady Russell observed that if I kindly acceded to her wish she should depart with much less regret than otherwise would be the case, knowing the sincere regard I entertained for her dear husband, a regard she also felt to be quite mutual on his part, as I was the only person he had ever expressed a desire to live with in Bengal and my compliance would equally oblige them both.

How could I possibly resist an application thus made, though I undoubtedly had many serious objections to forming such a connection, for Sir Henry's habits and mine were in several points materially different, especially with respect to domestic arrangements, I always having been rather prone to profuseness, he to the direct reverse. I could not therefore avoid looking forward to a joint house-keeping with some sort of apprehension and alarm. But as I at once determined to accede I thought it right to do so in the handsomest manner, for which both Sir Henry and Lady Russell expressed themselves most gratefully.

The month of February having elapsed we became uneasy at the detention of the four ships, because in March the strong southerly winds commence frequently blowing with so much violence as to render it almost impracticable for any vessel to work out to sea, and even if successful in the endeavour it was at eminent risk.

Mr. Engel, the father of Mrs. Lloyd, who had long laboured under a complaint in his bowels, which disease had reduced him very low, was found dead on his bed upon the servants entering the room, and at one o'clock of the same day the son-in-law had the old gentleman's corpse clapped underground, determined, as the wags said, not to afford him a chance of being any further annoyance, the old fellow having been for many months previous to his decease exceedingly petulant and disagreeable.

Early in March a separate peace having been effected with the Mahrattas, Lord Wellesley gave a splendid entertainment to the whole Settlement, magnificent fireworks under the direction and management of a French engineer were played off, the artillery upon the ramparts of Fort

William being discharged all round the fort three different times, which altogether produced a very grand effect.

A circumstance occurred at this time that occasioned much conversation and variety of opinions in Calcutta as to the behaviour of the individual who was the object of the public attention. This was Mr. Paull, who subsequently became a conspicuous character by a violent attack he made in the House of Commons upon the public conduct of Lord Wellesley during the period of his being Governor-General of India. This Mr. Paull also was more famous from coming forward and offering himself as a candidate to represent the County of Middlesex in Parliamont, and failing there, offering himself as a popular member to the electors of the City of Westminster. This was pronounced the more impudent and assuming because he sprung from no higher a stock than Knight of the Thimble, his father being a tailor. The young branch of that trade, that has never been held in estimation or respect, had however ingenuity enough to acquire a handsome fortune in the East, by acting as a merchant under the auspices of George Johnston, Esquire, and who favoured him with his protection and support. The cause of the present discussion arose as follows :

Mr. Paull having wound up his mercantile concerns determined to return and cut a dash in England as a Nabob. Having come to the Presidency of Calcutta in order to take a passage on board a homeward-bound Indiaman, while waiting the sailing of the ship he mixed much in the society of the place, frequently indulging himself by finding fault with the tyrannical and, as he called it, illegal conduct of the Marquis Wellesley, being particularly severe upon that nobleman's treatment of Syduat Ally, the Vizier of Lucknow, declaring in all companies that it was his (Paull's) intention to bring forward a public charge against the Marquis upon that as well as many other important points, as soon as he should become a member of the House of Commons, which he should lose no time in doing.

Language of this nature, of course, gave great offence to

all those persons who felt attached to Lord Wellesley, several of whom attacked Mr. Paull with considerable warmth. He was, however, no way deterred thereby from delivering his sentiments and declaring his resolution to impeach the Marquis. Thus he kept himself in perpetual altercation, but nothing serious occurred in consequence until two days previous to his intended departure, when he dined with a very large party at Colonel Calcraft's, which gentleman then held the offices of Fort Major, of Judge-Advocate General, and Commandant of a Regiment of native Militia. There was also present Captain Sydenham, one of the Marquis's aides-de-camp. Mr. Paull chose this day to be more than usually severe in his comments upon the noble Governor-General's public conduct, making some observations thereon with extreme asperity. This behaviour was resented by three or four of the company, who delivered their opinions with a considerable degree of anger. Colonel Calcraft, notwithstanding he sat at the head of his own table, was particularly bitter in his observations, and at last became so rude and coarse in his terms that Mr. Paull rose from the table and left the house.

In the evening of that day Mr. Paull received a letter from Captain Sydenham wherein that gentleman very grossly abused him for presuming to vilify so exalted and so able a character as Lord Wellesley. To this letter Mr. Paull replied in a very spirited manner, and several notes passed between them, Mr. Paull repeatedly offering to support what he had asserted in any manner Captain Sydenham wished or required, for which purpose he would meet him when and where he pleased. The Captain, however, declined the proffered combat, prudently deeming it no part of the duty of his aide de camp-ship to put his life in danger in support of the public acts or public conduct of the Captain-General; yet, although the gallant Captain declined a personal contest with Mr. Paull, he, after having first clearly ascertained that his antagonist had actually left Calcutta and was gone down the river in order to embark for Europe, addressed another letter to him on

board the ship couched in more offensive language than either of the preceding epistles. This induced Mr. Paull to transmit the whole correspondence to Calcutta, which he did with the following letter to Major Armstrong, who then filled the situation of Military Secretary to the Governor-General :

“SAUGOR ROADS,

March 7th, 1804.

“DEAR ARMSTRONG,

A most virulent and in my opinion a very unjustifiable attack of Captain Sydenham's forces me to beg your perusal of the enclosed correspondence ; I however ask no opinion, nor shall I make any comment beyond saying that I am as anxious as Mr Sydenham can possibly be for publicity. There is no act of my life but what I am able to defend. The tenour of his correspondence with me proves that our connection was not at all of a political nature ; while the kindnesses and favours I heaped upon him are acknowledged by himself and well known to a very numerous and respectable class of gentleman at home. He will, I fancy, find it not a little difficult to fix on a single expression that he ever told me in confidence that I ever uttered again, and what—short of such a conduct on my part could be an exculpation of his. He has the temerity to say that my assertions are ‘substantial falsehoods.’ I say on the contrary they are all capable of proof, although it never was my intention to bring them forward until lately. The facts I adduced relative to Oude and the injustice done to His Highness who is seated on the Musnud, also the allusions to the transactions at Madras, were introduced by me morely in support of an argument during a very general discussion—and which I conceived would of course be confined to the party then present. But like many a wiser man, I reckoned without my host, or rather with a very dishonest knave of a landlord. I mean Mr. Calcraft, and exalted as Marquis Wellesley's character certainly is, and very justly exalted, I fancy in the end his Lordship will find that the lousy zeal of a contemptible parasitical dishonest informer, a man totally destitute of a vestige of character or principle, if acted upon cannot but be injurious to his Lordship. What has occurred, if I am beyond the reach of illegal power, cannot possibly be detrimental to me. My fair shipmates, Mrs. Johnston and Mrs. France, desire to be remembered to you. I believe we shall

proceed to sea notwithstanding the ship makes eight inches of water every hour.

I wish you your health and every degree of happiness, and am with sincere esteem

Most truly yours,

JAMES PAULL."

"If with propriety you can shew my letter to Major Shaw, I much wish you to do so, together with the other papers. I am not afraid of the verdict of the most attached friends of Lord Wellesley "

Mr. Paull, upon his arrival at Prince of Wales's Island, into which port the ship was obliged to put from an alarming increase of the leak, wrote again to Bengal, in which letters he congratulated himself upon being beyond the reach of the despotic arm of the pompous though undoubtedly able little Knight of St. Patrick, who he observed he really apprehended, and expected would have sent a military force to drag him from Saugor, and with his customary impetuous violence have detained him a prisoner, and he assigned this fear as a reason for using anything like complimentary language when speaking of the little tyrant.

The correspondence thus forwarded to Major Armstrong between Mr. Paull and Captain Sydenham, being much talked of in Calcutta, reached the ears of Colonel Calcraft, who sent to Major Armstrong to request he might be indulged with a perusal of it, and it was in consequence forwarded to him. He was excessively indignant at seeing the opprobrious epithets that were coupled with his name, and instantly ordering his palankeen and taking the offensive document with him, he came to my house to consult on the possibility of instituting a prosecution against Mr. Paull for so shamefully stigmatizing him in his letter to Major Armstrong. I told him I had not the least doubt but that the words used were actionable, that I should, however, be sorry he acted solely under my advice and therefore recommended him to take the opinion of the Advocate-General, Mr. Smith—which recommendation the Colonel readily

acceded to, and requested I would do all that was requisite. I thereupon stated a case containing the whole of the letter in question. This I submitted to Mr. Smith who, on the following day to my inexpressible surprize, answered it by saying he strongly advised Colonel Calcraft not to commence an action, because as he had not nor was likely to sustain the smallest degree of injury from the terms used by Mr. Paull, so he (Mr. Smith) could not see with what propriety the Court could award him damages.

Colonel Calcraft was quite outrageous upon reading this opinion, which he pronounced to be the silliest and most unfounded that ever was given by a man calling himself a lawyer. He was determined to argue the point with and convince the Advocate-General how egregiously he was mistaken, for which purpose he immediately went to Mr. Smith's house, upon entering whose study he exclaimed, "Is it possible, Mr. Smith, that you could sit down at your desk and commit to writing as your grave and deliberate opinion that for a gentleman to be called 'a dishonest knave'—'a contemptible parasitical dishonest informer!'—'a man totally destitute of a vestige of character or principle,' is not actionable or that he sustains no injury in having such opprobrious language relative to him handed about to all societies throughout India?" Mr. Smith endeavoured to uphold the opinion he had given, insisting upon it that any plaintiff having recourse to a Court of Law for a compensation for an injury done him by any individual by way of libel must prove his having suffered in some way or other from such libel, in order to entitle himself to more than nominal damages, as no Judge would deem it sufficient to state that the private feelings of such plaintiff were hurt. The Colonel having used all his eloquence in order to induce Mr. Smith to change his opinion, and as, under the circumstances he stood in, I advised him to think no further of the matter, it dropped of course.

CHAPTER XVII

1804-1805

THE DEPARTURE OF LADY RUSSELL. THE
THREATENED INVASION OF ENGLAND. COLONEL
MONSON'S DISASTROUS RETREAT. THE FAILURE
OF LAKE'S SIEGE OF BURTPORE

A DAY being fixed for Lady Russell's departure and a pilot schooner prepared to convey her on board the *Preston*, Indiaman, then laying at Kedgerree, Sir Henry, who had as great a dislike as myself to formal leave-taking of those he loved, left his own home secretly before the customary hour of breakfast, and came to my house, when going up two pair of stairs he sat himself down at a window that commanded a perfect view of the river from which spot I could not get him to stir for a single moment, although I assured him that the schooner must remain at an anchor until after two o'clock in the afternoon, a rapid flood tide having set in with a strong southerly wind blowing, and no vessel whatever would attempt to make headway against those united impediments. He remained immovable at the window until near three, when the schooner made her appearance issuing from a forest of masts. I soon perceived Mr. Henry Russell, who accompanied his mother, on deck. Upon seeing us at the window he informed Lady Russell, then in the cabin, thereof, and she immediately came also upon deck, from whence she kissed her hand, waved her handkerchief, and made every sort of affectionate adieu. This scene quite overcame poor Sir Henry, who wept like a child and was in a state absolutely hysteric. While the schooner was working down the Calcutta Reach I felt that any inter-

ference on my part must prove fruitless, but as soon as she had rounded the point, and was no longer to be seen, I exerted myself and finally prevailed upon him to accompany me downstairs to dinner. At first he could not touch a morsel, his heart being too full to allow of eating, but after I had made him swallow a couple of glasses of madeira he became somewhat more composed and partook of the fare, though scantily, that was upon the table. In the evening I endeavoured to call off his mind from his sorrow by engaging with him at picquet.

The next day it began to blow hard, continuing to do so for upwards of a week, during which Sir Henry heard daily from his son, Lady Russell being too much indisposed by the violent motion of the schooner to admit of writing herself. The account young Russell gave of their situation was as forlorn as could be, making Sir Henry very miserable. They were five days getting from Calcutta to Kedgerree, a distance frequently done in one, and when there so tremendous a sea ran that no boat could attempt to pass to or from the ship.

The third morning after the schooner had reached Kedgerree, Captain Sturrock, though certainly at the risk of his own and the lives of the boat's crew, ventured to the schooner, when he told Lady Russell he considered the *Preston* to be in the most imminent danger, having already lost all her anchors and cables except the one she was then riding by, and from which should she unfortunately part her destruction would be inevitable: that under such critical circumstances, even had the weather admitted of her ladyship's removal, he should recommend her to remain in the schooner, where at least her life would be safe, which he could not say would be the case were she on board the ship.

After Lady Russell had been eleven days from Calcutta the weather moderated, and she got on board the *Preston*, which had received a supply of anchors and cables. Captain Sturrock therefore prepared to sail, according to orders sent him by Government, with sealed instructions which he was

not to open until in a certain latitude therein specified, he being further informed that the Fleet which had been waiting some time at Saugor, had sailed without him, the season being so far advanced as to render a longer stay in the open roads of Saugor extremely dangerous. He was consequently directed to go a single ship, and luckily got out to sea without further loss or accident. The Chief Secretary afterwards told Sir Henry Russell the *Preston's* sealed instructions were to steer for Bencoolen, to which port the Fleet had likewise been ordered, and there to wait the arrival of the *Preston* that they might all proceed together from thence to Europe. This undoubtedly lengthened the voyage, but lessened the risk of falling in with the enemy's cruizers, as they were probably looking out in the usual track pursued by homeward-bound ships, and as Sir Henry's friend, Mr. Walter Ewer, was then Chief Commissioner at Bencoolen, he was sure Lady Russell would be most kindly and hospitably received and entertained by that gentleman during the stay of the Fleet at the Island of Sumatra.

I now received a long letter from my brother, conveyed to me by Captain Radcliffe of the Company's military service, who had been to Europe upon furlough. My brother wrote me very pleasing accounts respecting the unanimity that prevailed throughout the kingdom and the zealous preparations made in every quarter to meet the long-threatened invasion of the Corsican despot Bonaparte. My brother likewise informed me that every man in Great Britain, of competent age, was become military in some way or other, that he himself was a private in the Bloomsbury Volunteers, one of the finest bodies of men attached to the Metropolis, and consisting principally of gentlemen from the Inns of Court, especially Gray's Inn. Of this Regiment he related the following circumstance: Being received by His Majesty, together with many other Corps, in Hyde Park the preceding summer, when the day unluckily turned out exceedingly wet, the Line advancing at a quick step, as if to attack the enemy, it fell to the lot of the Bloomsbury to come in contact with a slough nearly two feet deep

in mud, which notwithstanding so serious an impediment they marched through in perfect order, in no way hurting the regularity of the Line, and in so capital a style as to draw the particular attention of the King, who in his usual rapid way of speaking and earnest manner, called out, "Vastly well, vastly well, admirable indeed," and turning to one of the General officers in attendance, he enquired of him what Corps that was that so eminently distinguished themselves. Being informed they were the Bloomsbury Volunteers, of whom by far the greatest number were professional gentlemen, but chiefly from Gray's Inn, His Majesty with much jocularly said, "Aye, aye, lawyers, lawyers, they make excellent soldiers, very good soldiers indeed! The lawyers were always famous for dashing through thick and thin! Hey, General, were they not, were they not?"

Upon a cessation of hostilities with the Mahrattas taking place, a meeting of the British inhabitants in Bengal was summoned to consider of the propriety of framing an address to Marquis Wellesley the Governor-General upon that important event. A very numerous and respectable body of gentlemen accordingly assembled, when a congratulatory address was produced, read, and unanimously approved. It was couched in such high terms of panegyric, and so abounding with compliments to his Lordship for the consummate skill and wisdom of his measures as subsequently to excite the jealousy and displeasure of the Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street, who in the next general letter, after receiving a copy of the Address, wrote out to the Government of Bengal positively prohibiting all public meetings of the Settlement in future, unless previously sanctioned by the consent and approbation of the Governor-General *and* Council! an order that only tended to shew their envious dispositions and their petulance, for certainly Lord Wellesley richly deserved every encomium that could be bestowed upon him by the European inhabitants of Asia, and the grateful acknowledgments instead of the ill nature and spleen of the wise heads of Leadenhall

Street, as the preserver of their Eastern possessions which most indisputably he was.

It is, however, not a little extraordinary that a man possessed of such brilliant talents and of so strong a mind as his Lordship should have had such an uncommon share of vanity : yet so it was, and the weakness betrayed itself, nay, I might truly say predominated, in every action and circumstance of his life, he at all times showing an eager solicitude to engross to himself the most disgusting flattery. So far too did his jealousy of the merits of others carry him that he would not permit a statue of the Marquis Cornwallis, that had been executed in England and sent out to Bengal by subscription of the British inhabitants of Bengal upon his quitting that Government, as a grateful token of their sense of his merits while presiding over them, to be erected, under the futile pretext that there was no proper place to fix it in, but that he would cause one to be built for the express purpose, as he conceived it ought not to be exposed to the weather : whereas everybody that knew Lord Wellesley felt satisfied the real motive was a desire to prevent the statue of his predecessor appearing prior to his own, which he had good reason to think would be asked for, as it actually was soon afterwards. Such is the unaccountable weakness and infirmity of poor human nature !

Although the Government had made a peace with the Mahrattas, Holkar and other natives of considerable power and influence continued at war with us, so that the British Army were still obliged to keep the field, and to act with as much vigour as ever. General Fraser (my brother Westminster) was ordered up the country to take the command of a large detachment of men going to attack Deig, a Fort of great strength, which was accordingly regularly invested. After the siege had commenced and continued some days General Fraser, finding the Europeans fast falling sick from the intense heat, resolved to make an attempt to take the place by storm, which he accordingly did and succeeded, but at the expence of the lives of many gallant fellows, both officers and men, the greatest loss being that of General

Fraser himself, who received so severe a wound in the thigh from a cannon shot as to make amputation necessary, and after languishing a few days he died, to the extreme sorrow of the whole army as well as to a large circle of friends who knew and properly estimated his value.

This lamentable event the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Lake (then only General Lake), communicated to Marquis Wellesley in a letter to the following purport :

"The enclosed note has just conveyed to me the afflicting intelligence of the death of the gallant Major-General Fraser in consequence of the severe wound he received in the ever-memorable action of the 13th instant. Your Lordship will partake in my feelings of sincere sorrow for the loss of an esteemed friend and a brave officer, and his country will mourn the death of a hero to whom she is indebted for the most signal services. *His plan of attacking the enemy in the glorious battle of Deig* evinces the highest military genius. His mode of carrying this into effect displayed the greatest judgment and sagacity, and his conduct at the head of the army proves the most deliberate courage and determined resolution. Advancing in front of his troops his noble example animated them to the arduous enterprize ; he continued to encourage them long after he had fallen from the wound he received, and his voice impelled them on until a complete and glorious victory crowned and rewarded his exertions. In lamenting the loss of this brave officer, I have the consoling reflection that his memory will remain dear in the breast of every soldier, that his splendid example will animate to future deeds of heroism and that his fame and glory will be consecrated and preserved by a grateful and admiring country. The remains of the lamented Major-General Fraser were interred at Muttra in the evening of the 25th, and the last sad honours due to his rank and ~~merit~~ were paid by that part of the army which he so recently before had led to victory and to Glory."

In the month of October we received the melancholy tidings of Colonel Monson's most disastrous retreat, an event big with misfortune and calamity. The Colonel had been dispatched with a considerable force first to form a junction ~~with~~ and having joined, then to co-operate with another

detachment of troops coming across the country from the Malabar coast, but previously to accomplishing this object Colonel Monson was so entirely hemmed in and surrounded by the enemy's cavalry as to be unable to send out a single foraging party that was not cut off and the men cruelly butchered. In this critical state Colonel Monson's mind became so disordered that he appeared in despair and as if panic-struck. At last, and contrary to the advice and opinions of some of the most experienced officers of the Company that were with him and had seen much service, who pointed out the extreme risk of the measure, he unhappily determined to retreat, and issued orders accordingly for his army forthwith to fall back by the same route in which they had advanced, whereas the experienced men strongly urged the propriety of making a circuitous march through a country better calculated for defending themselves against the attacks of cavalry. Colonel Monson persisted and took the same road he had come. Holkar's horse sadly annoyed them for several days, when he evidently shewed an intention to make a general attack, whereupon Colonel Monson's officers convinced him that forlorn as their situation was their only chance of safety was making a determined stand, and to receive the enemy's charge upon the point of the bayonet. This mode was accordingly adopted and most gallantly did they receive the attack of an immense body of cavalry, bayoneting many hundred men and horses; superior numbers however prevailed, they were ultimately overwhelmed, the greater part being cut to pieces, a few hundred only escaping under favour of night, dispersing and secreting themselves as they could in the jungles. In this unfortunate conflict no less than eighteen officers were killed.

It had long been too much the practice of the military to affect to hold Holkar in the utmost contempt: to speak of him as a paltry marauder, a mere freebooter and robber that might be crushed or annihilated at any hour it was necessary to exterminate him and his despicable adherents, he possessing not the least genius or talent as a soldier. His

whole conduct clearly proved that the persons who conceived so mean an opinion of him were utterly ignorant of his real character and of everything respecting him.

The fate of those brave fellows who fell in the battle was far preferable to that of the unfortunate men that were made prisoners after being wounded, who were treated in a manner that it would make human¹ to hear related. Many of the victims after enduring unparalleled barbarities were left to expire in agonies, naked and starving in the open air.

Sir Henry Russell, having the nomination of Sheriff for the year 1805, appointed Stephen Laprimaudaye, Esquire, and mo to be the Deputy or Under-Sheriff.

By the public newspapers we learnt that Parliament had fallen into the same error the British inhabitants of Bengal had done, by voting their thanks to the Marquis Wellesley for putting an end to hostilities with the Malrattas, concluding, I presume, that all the lesser Potentates must necessarily follow the example and sue for peace, instead of which idea being realized, at the very time the thanks of both the Houses of Peers and Commons reached the noble Governor-General, India was involved in as arduous and bloody a war as ever had occurred: a war that clearly shewed the extraordinary energy and superior military genius of General Lake. At the period the lamented General Fraser lost his life, his gallant commanding officer, Lake, was pursuing Holkar through the country with a rapidity that astonished the enemy as much as it did our own people; marching at the head of a body of dragoons at the rate of from sixty to seventy miles daily, a quickness of moving that had never before been attempted in Asia by European, and seldom even by native, cavalry. The brave commander, however, had the gratification to find his perseverance and ardour fully compensated by accomplishing his object of at last coming up with Holkar, then at the head of a select and chosen band of his favourite cavalry, when the gallant British General instantly attacked them, cutting nearly the whole party to pieces with the sabre, Holkar himself

¹ Some words are missing — Ed

having a very narrow escape from being made a prisoner, which escape he effected by putting on the poor habiliments of a wandering Faquir or Beggar, in which disguise he passed unsuspected.

At this period we likewise received the pleasing news of Captain Dance's having preserved a rich and uncommonly valuable homeward Fleet of China ships, which Fleet had been attacked in the China Seas by the French Admiral Linois, in the *Marengo*, a powerful vessel, mounting eighty guns, completely manned, being supported by two heavy Frigates and a Brig-of-War, the whole of which formidable squadron were compelled to abandon their object and to fly before a parcel of half-manned Merchantmen. This action which undoubtedly did those concerned in it infinite credit, proved peculiarly advantageous to Captain Dance, who being the oldest or senior officer of the Fleet, took the command, hoisting and carrying a broad pennant as Commodore, in which capacity he gained, and surely deservedly, the credit of the victory. Captain Dance had thencefore always been unfortunate both as a merchant and commander of one of the East India Company's ships, never finding himself richer, but on the contrary generally poorer, at the end of a voyage than when it commenced, whereas the above-mentioned success enabled him, when advanced in years, to sit down quietly in his native country for the remainder of his life, the East India Company having very generously granted him an annuity of five hundred pounds per annum, besides which the different Insurance Offices, wherein the respective vessels constituting his valuable Fleet were underwritten, presented him with considerable sums of money, as did also several of the owners of the ships. His Majesty desired the gallant Commodore might be presented to him, and upon his going in consequence to a Levée at St. James's, was graciously pleased to confer upon him the honour of Knighthood, so that he is now Sir Nathaniel Dance.

The Rajah of Berar, having been joined by another independent Rajah, his neighbour, renewed hostilities he

had more than once before showed towards the English, by attacking one of our small fortresses on the borders of his territory, whereupon Lord Wellesley, with his accustomed promptness and decision, forthwith ordered a sufficient body of troops to march against a strong fortification belonging to this Rajah in Cuttack, the command of which detachment was given to Colonel Harcourt, of His Majesty's Army, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the 12th Regiment of Infantry, which regiment was then doing duty upon the Coast of Coromandel. Colonel Harcourt executed this service in the most soldier-like style, taking the Fort by storm, and happily with the comparatively trifling loss of one officer killed, four wounded, and forty privates killed and wounded. Upon the Colonel's return from this successful expedition, the Marquis Wellesley appointed him one of his honorary aides-de-camp.

In November, Admiral Sir Edward Pellew arrived at Prince of Wales's Island, he being nominated to the chief command of His Majesty's Squadron in the East Indies, bringing with him an unusually large fleet of Company's ships, the whole of which he convoyed in safety from England, Sir Thomas Troubridge, who had carried the Commander-in-Chief's flag, being appointed to a distinct command, that is to say, his station was to be the Eastern Coast of the Bay of Bengal with the Straits of Malacca, etc., while Sir Edward Pellew guarded the Western Coast of Coromandel, from the southernmost point of the Island of Ceylon to Point Palmiras, near the entrance of Balasore road. With such eminent nautical men as Pellew and Troubridge the merchants flattered themselves that the Indian Seas would be kept quite free of French privateers or cruisers of any description, in which expectation, however, they were sadly disappointed. The two rival Admirals, jealous of each other's line of command, soon began to dispute and actually to quarrel, mutually upbraiding and taxing each other with neglect, during which dissensions the British trade, instead of being protected from the attacks of the enemy, suffered in a far greater degree than

at any former period, more ships being captured in one twelvemonth than during the four preceding years.

In one of the Indiamen convoyed from Europe by Sir Edward Pellew came General John Smith, an old and intimate friend of Sir Henry Russell. This gentleman had been appointed to the King's Staff on the Bengal Establishment. Upon the ship in which he came reaching Diamond Harbour, he got into a small paunceway and set off for Calcutta. The first intimation Sir Henry Russell had of General Smith's being in that part of the world, was the seeing him walk into my hall (Sir Henry being then a guest of mine) just as a small party of us were sitting down at the dinner table. After the usual ceremony of introduction, etc., the General took a chair at the table with us, where he did great honour to my cookery, extolling the merit of each particular dish in very high terms. At the end of a couple of hours he and I were as free and easy with each other as if we had been acquainted for years, for he was quite a man of the world. He told us he had brought out with him besides his wife, a son who was about fifteen years of age, likewise Miss Seymour, a fine dashing girl who had been put under Mrs. Smith's immediate charge by Sir Edward Pellew, he requesting she might be taken care of until an opportunity occurred of sending her to Madras, which was the place of her destination.

General Smith observed he must, as soon as possible, send down a proper vessel for the purpose of conveying them and their baggage to town, whereupon I gave my Sircar orders instantly to hire and despatch a commodious pinnace budgerow to Diamond Harbour, taking care that provisions of every sort were put on board with two of my servants to wait upon the ladies during the passage. I, of course, accommodated General Smith with apartments in my house.

Early in the morning of the day following that of his arrival General Smith dressed and went to announce himself at the Government House, where he, upon his return, told us he had met with a most gracious reception from the

Governor-General, Marquis Wellesley, who he said had been pleased to pay him several high-flown compliments according, as he presumed, to the Oriental custom, as he felt it impossible they could be founded on any previous knowledge of so obscure an individual as he was, though the Marquis expressed much satisfaction at having the assistance of so able an officer as him, and made it a particular request, in consequence of the arduous contest we were then engaged in, that he (General Smith) would go up to join the Army as soon as ever he could arrange his domestic concerns, but not to inconvenience himself. His Lordship further observed that he had that morning received a dispatch from the Commander-in-Chief, who amongst many other points of business said, he rejoiced to learn by his letters from home that his old companion in arms, General John Smith, was appointed once more to serve with him and might be daily expected in Bengal. He therefore entreated that he (Marquis Wellesley) would send General Smith off to him as early after his arrival as possible, for that he was in great want of an able and skilful officer to supply the loss the service had sustained in the death of the gallant Major-General Fraser.

General Smith, upon this conversation with the Marquis, said he should make a point of departing as soon as he could supply himself with certain requisite articles that he specified, and would leave his family to follow him at their leisure. Thus circumstanced and seeing it was out of the General's power, without losing much time, to procure a residence for his family during their stay in Calcutta, I thought myself bound to offer to receive the ladies, etc., and told the General I should be happy to do so, having apartments entirely at their disposal for as long a time as they might wish to continue at the Presidency. This offer he accepted, professing himself exceedingly obliged to me for making it.

I thereupon made him write by Dawk to Mrs. Smith, to desire her, upon landing at Calcutta, immediately to come to my house where she would find him ready to receive her,

and that my servants, who attended her from Diamond Harbour, would conduct her. Two days afterwards, about half-past seven o'clock in the evening, when I was sitting at the dinner table with a large party whom I had invited to meet General Smith, amongst whom were several military men of rank, the arrival of Mrs. Smith and family was announced. I instantly went downstairs to hand her up. When she came to the door of the room in which the company were sitting, she gave a violent start and drew back. Apprehensive that she had been taken ill, I called to General Smith and Sir Henry Russell to come out, which they did, and after the General had spoken to her aside for a minute or two, he told me she was quite recovered. Taking her hand, therefore, I led her into the room and placed her on my right hand at table. She afterwards, upon becoming better acquainted, told me that upon her unexpectedly seeing a large party of gentlemen assembled, such a crowd of attendants, a table splendidly covered, and such an extraordinary blaze of light, coming too as she did from utter darkness, she was wholly overcome, feeling as if she should faint; that those awkward feelings were by no means lessened when she found the room filled with strangers, but that the good-humoured and polite attention of myself and guests soon reconciled her to the novelty of the scene, and she eat a hearty meal.

Mrs. Smith was accompanied by Miss Seymour, who completely answered the description the General had given of her, being a fine high-spirited girl with an ample share of easy assurance, but at the same time the manners of a perfect gentlewoman. The General's son, Bellingham (so called after an uncle, Sir Bellingham Graham, brother to his mother, and then recently deceased), appeared to be a pale, puny, and sickly-looking boy. Mrs. Smith was also attended by Colonel Stovin, who commanded the 17th Regiment and had come out in the same ship, and the Captain of the ship, so that my party, which was before large, was thus considerably increased.

We were scarcely arranged at table after Mrs. Smith's

arrival when my Consumah whispered me that there was another lady below stairs, upon which I went down and found a smart English damsel, who told me she was Mrs. Smith's maid. I was more at a loss in what manner to dispose of her than of all the rest of the party put together, I however made my servants shew her up to her mistress's dressing-room, on the upper floor, and lay a cloth, etc., for her dinner there which I furnished from my table, a small cot was likewise prepared for her in the same room, which was not used, Miss Seymour entreating she might share her bed.

I soon discovered that Miss Seymour was a natural daughter of my *Seahorse* shipmate, Mr. George Dallas, now Sir George (a Baronet), by a native woman of Hindostan, who was so fair that this young lady had not the slightest tinge of even the copper-coloured skin. Miss Seymour had received an excellent education in England, was exceedingly clever, and a by no means contemptible poetess, having written some things that were greatly admired in the circle of her father's friends.

At the end of ten days General Smith got into his palan-keen in the evening and set off to join the Army, then upwards of nine hundred miles from Calcutta, a month after which his lady and her fair servant embarked in a pinnace to proceed to him by water, land conveyance being very ill calculated for the fair sex. The son, Bellingham, had been given a Cornetcy in one of His Majesty's Regiments of Light Dragoons, which he was ordered to join as soon as the Monsoon would allow of ships going upon the Coast of Coromandel, it being stationed in the vicinity of Madras.

Miss Seymour, although much against her inclination upon Mrs. Smith's leaving Calcutta, went to reside with Mrs. Sydenham, wife to Mr. Sydenham, the Resident at the Court of the Nizam at Hyderabad. At this lady's house she was to wait for the season for vessels touching at Masulipatam, when Mrs. Sydenham was to escort her to that Settlement, the friends she was going to being fixed there, and where Mrs. Sydenham was to land on her way to her husband at Hyderabad.

Miss Seymour had no previous acquaintance whatever with Mrs. Sydenham, and when first told she was to reside with her until their departure for Masulipatam, that lady having kindly consented to take her under her charge, she abruptly answered, "Indeed, I shall not go to Mrs. Sydenham's, I like my present quarters very well and have not the smallest inclination to change them, especially for the worse, which I am convinced that would be." "But, my dear Miss Seymour" (said Mrs. Smith, in the presence of Sir Henry Russell), "do you think it will be quite correct for you, a smart young lady, to take up your abode without any other female in the house with two gentlemen?" "Dear me," replied she, "why not? I am sure I shall not have the least objection, nor can I conceive any reason why I should not, for you know, ma'am, Sir Henry Russell is a grave and learned judge, and Mr. Hickey is an old man!" Sir Henry, who seemed somewhat hurt at being thus spoken of, rather tartly said, "But give me leave to observe, young Madam, whatever you may think, or affect to think, that both old men and judges are still men, have the failings of men, and there might be more danger than you are aware of." "Well, never mind that; that's my business," said the lively girl, "I shall not be at all afraid to make the trial, as I do not see any danger, nor will I even lock my chamber door." As far as I was concerned I was ready and willing to admit the fairness of the lady's argument, and solicited that she might be allowed to follow her inclination, but the correct Mrs. Smith, and equally chaste Sir Henry Russell, who really appeared to be more alarmed at such an idea than even Mrs. Smith was, pronounced the thing absolutely impossible and must not be thought of, so off went the young madcap to Mrs. Sydenham's. This young lady soon afterwards married Mr. Munt, a Captain in the Company's military service on their Madras Establishment, and is, I am told, become a steady matron, being the mother of three children, with whom she lately returned to England.

General Smith, soon after he joined the Army, had a

sharp encounter with a body of Holkar's cavalry, in which however no extraordinary feats were performed on either side. In a few months after he had been in the field he was seized with one of those violent fevers that frequently attack Europeans in hot climates, which carried him off. He was interred at Muttra, close to the grave of his former friend, General Fraser.

In December, Mr. Lloyd, Sir Henry Russell's clerk, engaged a passage on board the *Lord Nelson*, Indiaman, for his wife, with four children, his mother-in-law, and an unmarried daughter of hers, for Europe, the Physicians having pronounced it indispensably necessary for Mrs. Lloyd to leave India in order to preserve her life.

This year proved uncommonly sickly and fatal to many. Amongst those who fell victims to the severity of the season was my friend Major Barrington Bradshaw, Brigade Major to His Majesty's troops in Bengal, of whom I have before spoken, and who accompanied General John St. Leger, the Prince of Wales's companion, in the early part of his life, from England. Major George Bristow, who had been a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Guards, but who, having spent all the money he possessed, was obliged suddenly to decamp and leave the Kingdom, succeeded poor Bradshaw as Brigade Major, at the same time retaining the situation of one of the Marquis of Wellesley's aides-de-camp, which situation on the Governor-General's staff the Commander-in-Chief, General Lake, had procured for him.

At the end of the month of December, a gentleman of my acquaintance, having come to Calcutta from the upper provinces, was desirous of seeing the works of Mr. Home, then deemed the best artist in Asia. I therefore attended him one Sunday morning to Mr. Home's house, who having gone out of town to spend the day, we went alone into the apartment in which the finished pictures were exhibited and there inspected the whole collection. Happening at dinner time that day to mention where we had been, and expressing our pleasure at the number of excellent portraits we had seen, all of which I had known, although Mr. Home

was not present to name them, especially observing upon two as large as life of the Marquis Wellesley and his brother Arthur, the General, Sir Henry Russell, expressed the utmost disappointment, saying, "This is indeed a great mortification to me, for it was my wish and my intention to have surprized you on coming down to breakfast on the morning of New Year's Day, by seeing my resemblance in that spot (pointing to a particular part of the room, which he said Mr. Home had fixed upon as the best suited to shew it to advantage), but (added he), "now that you have seen it, the intended surprize is consequently done away." I thereupon assured him I had not seen the picture he alluded to, nor even ever heard of it. Mr. Home had, as he afterwards informed us, locked it up in his painting room when he went into the country lest any person should, during his absence, go into that apartment and discover it. On the 1st of January, 1805, this portrait was fixed up in my breakfast room, and undoubtedly was a striking likeness, notwithstanding it did not appear so in my eyes, because several persons who did not know I had such a picture in my house until they saw it in its place, exclaimed, "What an admirable likeness that is of Sir Henry Russell!"

This compliment was the more handsome on the part of Sir Henry Russell, inasmuch as he had so peculiar an aversion to sitting to an artist that Lady Russell had never been able to prevail upon him to let her have a representation of him upon canvas, or in any other way, and upon my once hinting to her Ladyship that I had it in contemplation to request Sir Henry to sit for me, she plainly told me what I have above stated, and that consequently it would be in vain for me to make any such application. In consequence of what Lady Russell said upon the occasion, I never did open my mouth to Sir Henry upon the subject, but her Ladyship did relate to him what had passed between her and me relative to obtaining a portrait of him which induced Sir Henry to comply with my wish and in the very liberal manner above mentioned. This

picture now graces my dining-room at Beaconsfield, in Buckinghamshire.

A matter was at this period undertaken by the Army, under the command of General Lake, that either from ignorance or stupidity in his engineer, instead of adding fresh laurels to our arms, heaped on the army nothing but death and disgrace, respecting which unfortunate business a friend of mine who had the rank of Captain in the Company's service, and was deemed an excellent officer, wrote me the following particulars :

" CAMP BEFORE BURTPORE,

January 8th, 1805.

" I should have found great satisfaction in complying with your request of giving every information respecting our movements as well as those of the enemy, but we are so entirely surrounded and hemmed in by myriads of Holkar's horse that the communication is seldom open, and at one period no letters at all went out of camp ; at present we are restricted in point of size so that I am obliged to write so uncommonly small I fear you will scarcely find it legible, and notwithstanding the Dawks have always been dispatched with as much secrecy as possible they are still frequently cut off.

We sat down before this place on the 2nd instant and immediately broke ground about one thousand yards from the walls of the city. The trenches and grand battery were finished the night before last, and at daybreak yesterday morning six eighteen pounders began to batter in breach. I was on duty in the trenches the whole of the night before last as well as the whole of yesterday, and from my own opinion and observation and also the opinions of others of greater experience and consequently more competent to speak upon the subject than I am, the breach will become practicable in the course of this night, and I conceive there is little or no doubt but ere this hour to-morrow the city will be in our possession.

The Fort, however, will still remain to be taken, as it is situate within the Fortifications of the town and suburbs, and undoubtedly is extremely formidable, being rendered particularly so from the extraordinary width and depth of the ditch, the same being abundantly supplied with water and with which it is like

wise completely surrounded. We shall nevertheless find the means of passing over or the Devil himself must be in it. The enemy have a prodigious number of guns mounted on the works immediately fronting our intended place of attack, from the whole of which they keep up an incessant fire, their cannonade being most admirably well directed both day and night against our trenches ; yet it is not a little singular that during the whole of the time I was down amongst the workmen there were no more than six casualties. The infatuated Rajah—to whom the place belongs—commands in person. Had he been sagacious enough to have remained an inactive quiet spectator of our contention with Holkar he might at this day have continued as independent as his forefathers have been for several centuries back. He is a very rich and powerful man and we conclude imagined by his aid Holkar would be enabled to carry all his schemes into effect to the complete and entire ruin of the English, but he now when *too late discovers his error, and that no terms can or will be made with a person who has acted in the base and treacherous way he has done.*

Holkar is here, that is on the outside the Fort, with his cavalry as we are, yet hitherto he has not molested our camp near so much as we expected he would have done, nor ever makes a regular attack upon us, his operations being confined to some times cutting off our supplies, and now and then making us get under arms when we think that he approaches rather too near. If he is wise he will not venture to make any serious attack upon our Lines, but if he should rashly presume to adopt such a measure our Light Dragoons will soon convince him of his mistake by making him pay dearly for it.

This place is the capital of the Burtapore country, and never has been taken in any war, at least that we know of. We flatter ourselves that the Prize money will amount to something considerable, for every poor fellow like myself. But for my own part I cannot help thinking the carnage on both sides will be dismal. For the sake of humanity it is much to be wished that the Rajah may capitulate. The town is full of inhabitants, and during the storming of a place it is absolutely impossible to discriminate between the inoffensive, harmless residents and the military or others in any way concerned as defenders of the works. As soon as the business is over, by the fall of Burtapore, we shall most likely have another bout with Master Holkar,

who has still some guns left with his infantry at a short distance from hence.

It is next to impossible that so fine an army as ours certainly is can ever be defeated by Native troops, especially whilst our good and heroic old General continues at the head of it. There never was a commander who enjoyed the love and confidence of his troops so much as does General Lake, and I may with equal confidence and safety add, few men ever so well deserved it.

You will, long before this reaches you, have heard of the taking of Deig and of the universally lamented doath of Major-General Fraser, the Chief in command of that army. He lost a leg by a cannon shot during the time of storming the Fort, and died of the wound after the operation of amputation above the shattered part of the bone was performed. Nothing was gained at that confounded place, except devilish hard knocks in uncommonly severe fighting, the treasure that was within the Fort having been all previously removed to this place.

If I am not amongst the storming party you shall hear from me again to-morrow, but should I be one of those ordered upon that perilous duty, which I think highly probable to happen, and should therein meet my doom, may I request a continuance of your friendship to my greatly beloved Betsy, who is in every respect most worthy and most deserving of it. If there ever was a man blessed with a truly amiable, good and valuable wife, I undoubtedly have been that fortunate man.

Holkar is so much upon the alert that scarcely any supplies ever reach us here except Balls ! and upon my word of that article he is by no means sparing, for day and night they are flying about in all directions.

Adieu, Believe me, your obliged and faithful friend."

The excellent young man who wrote the foregoing letter was, as he had expected, the same evening that he did write it, selected to lead on one of the bands of gallant fellows who stormed the Fort, and while in the act of encouraging his men to persevere was cut in two by a cannon-ball. Our troops failed. Notwithstanding the greatest exertions and personal bravery of every individual, they were completely beaten off, neither had they any better success in an equally desperate second, third, and fourth attempt to

enter the breach. In all which unavailing efforts our loss in officers and men was truly grievous! His Majesty's 74th and 76th Regiments suffered extremely. In the fourth and last desperate attempt to take the place by storm, after our brave fellows had been twice repulsed, the remains of the 74th positively refused to advance any more to the breach, the privates crying out aloud, "Lead us to or point out a practicable entrance and we are one and all ready to lose our lives or gain our object, but time after time to send us to certain and inevitable slaughter without a possibility of our deaths being of the least benefit to our King and Country is more than man can bear or than ought to be required." There undoubtedly was too much reason for the demur, and the remark made by the men of the 74th, which although improper to come from the mouths of soldiers upon actual duty, could scarcely surprize those who had witnessed what that regiment had undergone and the extraordinary number of them that were slain. As I have already observed, the repeated failures in the attempts to take the place was ascribed to the superlative ignorance of the Engineer officers employed who, it was asserted, fixed upon the strongest part of the whole Fort to make the attack, where our men were knocked down and butchered without a possibility of their effecting an entrance at the breach. From whatever cause the failure arose it was the occasion of extreme misery and distress to the gallant General Lake.

CHAPTER XVIII

1805

DISSOLVING PARTNERSHIP. SIR HENRY RUSSELL'S
SERIOUS ACCIDENT. LORD CORNWALLIS RE-
TURNS TO GOVERNMENT HOUSE. HIS DEATH.
SIR GEORGE BARLOW AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL

IN February of this year (1805) my partner Mr. Benjamin Turner carried into execution his resolution of leaving me for the purpose of winding up all his concerns and returning with his numerous family to Europe. At the same time that he communicated such his intention to me, he furnished me with what he termed "a rough sketch or statement of the partnership accounts subsisting between William Hickey and Benjamin Turner," by which I found that instead of having anything to receive from the joint stock, a very large balance stood as against me. One item, however, of the account struck me with equal surprize and indignation. It was to "an amount of very near twenty-seven thousand sicca rupees, being interest due to Benjamin Turner upon sums of money William Hickey had at various times drawn for and received beyond his share or proportion of the profits arising from the business of the office!" although I never in my life had a rupee of his private money or any other than what was in the hands of our cash keeper as belonging to the partnership!

Conceiving, after what appeared to me to be so unfair a charge, that I had no terms to keep with Mr. Turner, I committed my sentiments to writing in the most forcible language I could indict, questioning the fairness of his statement altogether, peremptorily and positively denying

his right to one anna as interest upon any sums I had received ; taxing him with want of candour in his conduct from beginning to end, and insisting upon his continuing the partnership for six months longer, pursuant to the tenor of the deed we had mutually executed, which contained a covenant or clause making it incumbent upon the party desirous of retiring from the partnership to give the other partner six months' previous notice of his intention so to do. I, however, gave him to understand that my determining to hold him to the letter of our contract was not from any disinclination to have entirely done with him, but merely to shew that I did not mean patiently to submit to his mode of accomplishing that separation which would now take place, and that notwithstanding my dislike to litigating any point in which I was myself personally interested I most assuredly would file a Bill in Equity against him and so let all the accounts, from the commencement of our partnership, go before and be settled by the Master.

After an unpleasant correspondence upon the subject, in which common candour obliges me to confess his conduct was far more temperate than mine, we, through the interference of mutual friends, agreed to submit the arrangement of our differences to arbitration, for which purpose Mr. Turner named Mr. Smith (the then Advocate-General) and Ralph Uvedale, Esq., Prothonotary, and Clerk of the Crown in Court, as his arbitrators, requesting me to nominate two others. As I apprehended no four persons meeting upon a matter were likely to make any award, I suggested my readiness either to let Messrs. Smith and Uvedale, in whose honour and rectitude I had the fullest reliance, finally settle between us, or that I would name one other gentleman and let the determination of two of the three be decisive. The mode thus proposed being adopted, I in consequence appointed Mr. Edward Lloyd, Sir Henry Russell's clerk, to act on my behalf. After several meetings Messrs. Smith and Uvedale made their award, giving every point in favour of Turner, except the charge of interest on the sums I had, as he pretended, drawn beyond what the profits of the

business entitled me to. They likewise awarded that the co-partnership should be annulled immediately, notwithstanding the clause in the deed requiring the party wishing to quit to give six months' notice previous to his being authorized so to do. Mr. Lloyd differed in toto, but finding his arguments made no impression upon the other two arbitrators, he contented himself with declaring his dissent, and refusing to sanction the award he so much disapproved of, with his signature.

An Irish bishop is said to have observed in one of his sermons that "single misfortunes never come alone and the greatest is always attended by a greater!" I began to think that this extraordinary declaration was about to be verified in me, for almost all the wealthy native clients forsook my office to follow Turner, so that but for the Sheriff's office and Judge's clerkship, I should at first have been badly off. The application of the Irish bishop's language came more home to me from an accident that just at the same time happened to my patron and most excellent friend Sir Henry Russell, which placed him in the most imminent danger of losing his life, and deprived me for some months of my emoluments as his Clerk from his being unable to put his signature to any document.

At the critical time of the above-mentioned award between Mr. Turner and myself, Sir Henry Russell had left my house to go and reside with Mr. Lloyd whose family had then embarked for Europe. A few days after Sir Henry had thus been at Mr. Lloyd's, as they were one evening going out in the phaeton of the latter with a pair of high-spirited young horses, and Mr. Lloyd being but an indifferent driver, upon their becoming somewhat restive he lost all command over them and ran foul of the gate of his own house, whereby the carriage was upset, and both gentlemen were thrown out with great violence, the phaeton being wholly demolished. Mr. Lloyd apparently escaped with a sprained wrist and some immaterial bruises (I use the word apparently, because he never afterwards was perfectly well), but Sir Henry Russell was very shockingly maimed. Besides

several desperate wounds and bruises, from kicks of the horses as was supposed, his right arm was thought to be broken close to the shoulder, for before the attendance of a surgeon could be procured the entire arm, neck, breast, and side of the body were so dreadfully swelled and inflamed as to render it impossible to ascertain what was the real, or extent of the injury sustained.

In this alarming state Sir Henry lay in extreme hot weather (the accident having occurred early in the month of March), rather more than six weeks confined to his bed, having at times a great deal of fever with the constant apprehension of its increasing. Five surgeons met in consultation three times every day. The arm, shoulder, neck, and right side were as black as ink, and during the first three weeks the doctors were at work in the dark, nor could any steps be taken towards setting the bone if broken. Unfortunately, too, the medical gentlemen differed in opinion, two of them having no doubt of the upper arm's being fractured, while the other three contended there was no fracture of the bones though there clearly was a dislocation of the shoulder joint. Doctor Hare alone insisted that from certain symptoms which he explained, there must be both dislocation and fracture, and as was ultimately clearly established he proved to be correctly right. Before, however, the swelling had subsided sufficiently to determine what was the injury sustained, the sinews, etc., about the arm and shoulders became so contracted and hardened that the idea of endeavouring to replace the bone was quite out of the question, it therefore was left to remain upon the edge of the socket while the fractured bones united of themselves, which latter circumstance was ascribed to the limbs having been tightly bound up and kept correctly in the same position. When the inflammation had entirely subsided, it was clearly perceptible to the feel where the fracture of the large bone had been. Nor, circumstanced as Sir Henry was, could anything have been done had the inflammation been less (and the double injury clearly established) towards attempting to replace the arm at the

shoulder, because the fracture must necessarily have been first attended to, and ere it had been strong enough to bear being pulled upon so as to correct the dislocation the same consequences as to the shoulder must inevitably have followed, from the state of the sinews being such as not to admit of setting the joint.

After the long and painful confinement, at times attended with imminent danger from increase of fever, Sir Henry recovered and once more resumed his official duties. But he has ever since only had a partial use of the right arm, not being able to extend it horizontally from the body, nor to put on or take off his hat except by an inward motion of the arm keeping close to his side as he raised it. The first time I saw him, which was the morning after the accident, I thought it was all over with him. He had passed a sleepless night and was then in a strong fever : his flesh, horrid to look upon, being rendered more terrible by no less than twenty leeches sucking his blood in different parts with a view to allay the inflammation. His death would have been an irreparable loss to me ; upon my own account therefore, as well as upon every other, most truly did I rejoice upon his recovery.

In March a packet arrived from England bringing to our gallant Commander-in-Chief, General Lake, the pleasing information of His Majesty's having graciously rewarded his meritorious services by conferring upon him the honour of a British peerage. At the same time Major-General Wellesley, the Marquis's brother, was appointed a Knight of the Bath.

In a very few months after Mr. Turner's secession, some of the principal natives with their accustomed caprice and instability left him, bringing their business to me, and I had soon full as much as I wished for, or could attend to.

Shortly after Turner had left me, Nemyohurn Mullick, who I was fully convinced had been his principal adviser on the subject of his quitting the partnership, but who openly professed to have my interest equally at heart with that of Mr. Turner (which professions I ascribed to the true

cause, which was his wish not to be at variance with me, but to continue at least upon civil terms merely because he perfectly well knew the very sincere regard that Sir Henry Russell entertained for me), called upon me, as he avowed to offer me a little friendly advice respecting several Bonds of mine, which I had at different periods executed to Hydeeram Bonnagee, and to his brother Rogonaut Bonnagee, during the time the latter had acted as my Banian. Besides which, as he observed, there was a considerable balance of account stated to be due from me to the said Rogonaut Bonnagee. To this I answered that I considered both Hydeeram Bonnagee and his brother Rogonaut Bonnagee to be as errant knaves and scoundrels as ever existed, who had united their crafty abilities to cheat and plunder me in every way they could devise, and had I continued them, or either of them in my service much longer, I must have been completely ruined. I further observed that their being friends of his by no means raised them in my estimation, that although it was true I had been inconsiderate and absurd enough to execute bonds to them, even when conscious that not a rupee was justly owing by me, yet upon a subsequent discovery of a variety of frauds committed by Rogonaut Bonnagee I had not only refused to pay one anna of interest upon such bonds when the same was demanded, but had publicly announced my determination never to pay the principal or any part thereof, and that I would resist any legal attempts to recover the amount, never having received any consideration whatsoever.

Mr. Turner, having heard of the demand made upon me by Hydeeram Bonnagee, sent a native friend of his and mine to me to say he should be happy to render me every assistance in his power, and that if I would send all my accounts, books, and vouchers to his office, he would endeavour to distinguish each separate fraud or double entry of Rogonaut Bonnagee. Such an offer made at a time when we were at actual variance I felt as it deserved, and with expressing my sentiments upon his liberality, I forwarded to him all those documents he had desired to have,

Owing to the extraordinary kindness and persevering attention of Mr. Turner in scrutinizing the Bengallee accounts and vouchers I got out of a truly serious dilemma which, but for this exertion on his part, must have terminated in my utter ruin as I could not have disproved a single item of the charges, and had I had recourse to a Bill in Equity with an idea of obtaining relief I firmly believe that Hydeeram Bonnagee would, without the least scruple of conscience or remorse, have sworn exactly as best suited his purposes. Feeling therefore the full force of the obligation I lay under to Mr. Turner for his friendly exertions, I wrote him a letter of thanks and at the same time apologized for the intemperate and coarse language I had used in some of my former addresses to him. This produced a very handsome reply from him, and an immediate reconciliation took place between us.

In the month of April the fatal siege of Burtpore was finally abandoned, our troops being wholly withdrawn. This occurred under a Treaty entered into between the British and the Rajah, which in its nature was very unlike any Treaty ever before made with a Native power, every article of it being greatly to the advantage of the Rajah, who felt his own consequence and the superiority he had gained, so much as to lead him to treat the English upon this occasion with the most insolent hauteur, in fact with utter contempt, to the infinite mortification of the gallant Lake and every British officer who were witnesses to it. But they were remedyless. The good old General openly and loudly lamented his not being a good Engineer himself, and equally so that he had had no officer of skill in that line with him, otherwise they never could have failed in capturing the place.

Scindiah and Holkar, notwithstanding that they had always been violent foes, in this instance united, for finding the British troops were not invincible and that a fortress like Burtpore had held out successfully against the many attacks of the best appointed army that ever had taken the field in the plains of Hindostan, commanded too by an

experienced and favourite General, they determined to forget their enmity towards each other, for a time at least, and to exercise their talents and their forces in order to annihilate the British interests throughout India. They accordingly did unite and brought into the field upwards of one hundred thousand fighting men with a proportionate train of artillery, in every respect well appointed and abundantly supplied with stores of every description. On the other hand, Lord Lake's army was greatly lessened both by the sword and by disease, besides being in want of everything for carrying on an active campaign, so that everybody began to think with considerable alarm as to the ultimate issue of the war, and that if the enemy acted with promptness and vigour our existence would become extremely doubtful. One great cause of consolation amidst this scene of woe, to the British inhabitants of India, arose from our having just received information that Marquis Cornwallis was once more appointed Governor-General, was then on his passage from Europe, and might daily be expected to arrive in Bengal. As his extraordinary popularity throughout Asia was well known to all ranks of persons, every good consequence was expected from his presence.

The heat this year was intense, far beyond what was usual, the effects of which was severely felt by the Europeans in general, but more especially by His Majesty's 17th Regiment of Infantry, then recently arrived from England, and which suffered dreadfully, losing during several successive weeks from three to seven men daily. I know not whether it was owing to this extreme sultry weather or not, but my whole nervous system was sadly deranged and headache tormented me almost without intermission, accompanied by frequent vertigos which occasioned me much anxiety and uneasiness.

In May we received an account of Lord Cornwallis's arrival at Madras, on board the *Medusa*, frigate, commanded by Sir John Gore, after a remarkably fine passage of little more than three months, but we had at the same time the mortification to hear that his Lordship was in a

very indifferent state of health. In about a fortnight afterwards he arrived off the town of Calcutta, a little after seven o'clock in the evening ; consequently, it being dark, he did not land until sunrise the following morning. Immediately after the vessel he was in came to an anchor he went on shore positively to forbid any European troops being ordered out to receive him, the weather being so extremely hot. He also wrote a note to Lord Wellesley requesting that he would continue to occupy the Government House during the time he continued in Bengal.

Lord Wellesley, with his customary attention to parade and show, sent down all his carriages, servants, staff officers, and general establishment to receive his noble supercessor at the water side. Lord Cornwallis upon landing looked surprized and vexed at the amazing cavalcade that were drawn up, and turning to Mr. George Abercrombie Robinson (the gentleman who had formerly held the situation of Military Auditor-General in Bengal, and who had returned to Europe with a very independent fortune), who came out as his Lordship's confidential Secretary, he said, " What ! What ! What is all this, Robinson, hey ? " (His Lordship had the same quick manner of speaking and repeating the same word several times that His Majesty is said to have) Mr. Robinson answered, " My Lord, the Marquis Wellesley has sent his equipages and attendants as a mark of respect and to accompany your Lordship to the Government House." To this Lord Cornwallis replied, " Too civil, too civil by half. Too many people. I don't want them, don't want one of them, I have not yet lost the use of my legs, Robinson, hey ? Thank God, I can walk, walk very well, Robinson, hey ; don't want a score carriages to convey me a quarter of a mile ; certainly shall not use them," and he accordingly did walk, accompanied by Doctor Fleming, also formerly of the Bengal Establishment, and who with Mr. Robinson were the only persons his Lordship brought out with him. Sir John Gore and many gentlemen of the Settlement who had gone down to the Ghaut to receive his Lordship on landing, among which number I was, followed the noble

Governor-General on foot. We were all greatly shocked to see how ill his Lordship looked and what a wreck of what he had been when formerly in Bengal.

Lord Wellesley received the new Governor-General at the foot of the stairs of the Government House, where the two Marquises embraced, then going up hand in hand to the second floor, where a splendid breakfast was set out, Lord Wellesley's fine band of music playing martial airs, Lord Cornwallis seemed struck with the magnificence of the apartment, and while walking up to the head of the breakfast table, said, "Upon my word, Wellesley, you have shewn much taste here, much taste indeed, Wellesley; it is very handsome, very handsome indeed, Wellesley."

The meal being finished Lord Wellesley conducted Lord Cornwallis over the whole building; pausing in a superb suite of sleeping apartments which Lord Cornwallis, imagining to be those Lord Wellesley had occupied and meant to give up to him, he observed, "I shall not take your rooms, Wellesley. They are too large, much too large for me, I should be lost in them, I should prefer a smaller place upon the ground floor. I therefore request, nay, I insist, Wellesley, you continue in the rooms you have been used to, which will gratify me exceedingly." Lord Wellesley assured Lord Cornwallis that these apartments had been prepared and fitted up expressly for his Lordship, and that those he occupied himself were in the opposite wing. Lord Cornwallis was consequently obliged, though apparently contrary to his inclinations, to take possession of them. The first thing, however, that he did was to order away about a dozen sentries that were stationed in different passages and doorways leading to his rooms.

Doctor Fleming in the course of the day being with Lord Cornwallis and no other person present, he asked his Lordship how he liked the new palace. "Like it, Fleming! Not at all! not at all! It is as much too large as the other was too small. I shall never be able to find my way about it without a guide, nor can I divest myself of the idea of being in a prison, for if I show my head outside a door, a

fellow with a musket and fixed bayonet presents himself before me. I will not have this continued, I won't indeed, Fleming. Wellesley may do as he likes, but I will not be thus pestered, and must have quiet and retirement. I shall order every Sepoy to be sent downstairs and let them remain in their guard-room, the proper place for them."

While sitting at the dinner table the day after his arrival, Lord Cornwallis had occasion to refer to a paper that was in his private escritoire: he therefore enquired for the only European servant he brought out with him. This man being summoned his Lordship said to him, "I want a paper from my portfolio. If you have learnt the way over this labyrinth of a building, show me to the room I left my escritoire in." Lord Wellesley upon hearing this, requested he might send an aide-de-camp for the box, which seemed to surprize Lord Cornwallis, who with some warmth said, "An aide-de-camp! An aide-de-camp! No! No. Wellesley, that is not the way in which I employ aides-de-camp. I like to serve myself upon occasions of this sort, I am too old a campaigner to think of requiring assistance in such trifling matters." He then followed his servant to the dressing-room, and having got the document he wanted, returned to the company.

The first public order Lord Cornwallis issued was, that the same guard and the same honours as thentofore had been, should continue to be paid to Marquis Wellesley.

In about two hours after the company broke up from the breakfast table, the first morning, a Council was held, at which Lord Wellesley presided, seated in the chair of the President, his head being covered. The new Governor-General's appointments being produced and read, the different oaths of office were next administered to his Lordship, immediately after which Lord Wellesley rose from his seat, took off his hat and gracefully bowing first to Lord Cornwallis, and then to the Members of Council, he walked out of the Council Chamber.

In the evening of the following day, while I was out taking my airing, I met Lord Wellesley in his coach and

six, precoded, and followed, by a party of Dragoons and a number of outriders, and in about ten minutes afterwards I likewise met our new Governor-General, Marquis Cornwallis, driving himself in a phaeton with a pair of steady old jog-trot horses, accompanied by his Secretary, Mr. Robinson, and without a single attendant of any description whatsoever.

In the middle of the month of June, Lord Cornwallis, though evidently in a worse state of health than when he arrived from Europe, and daily becoming worse, set off by water to go and take the command of the army, being extremely anxious to carry into effect the chief object of his revisiting Asia, that is, to arrange matters so as to make peace with the different powers against whom we were engaged in a sanguinary and ruinously expensive war. Lord Lake was so much offended at the cavalier manner in which he had been superseded by Lord Cornwallis's appointment of Commander-in-Chief as well as Governor-General, that as soon as ever such supersession was announced to him he sent down his resignation to Calcutta, whereupon Lord Cornwallis wrote him a confidential letter requesting such resignation might not be delivered in, and that he would not take any step whatever respecting the command of the army until they met, when he would explain his reasons more at large, and he was quite sure to his, Lord Lake's, satisfaction.

Lord Cornwallis was accompanied up the river by Doctor Fleming. His Lordship became so rapidly weaker they were obliged to make frequent stops, and by the time they reached Ghazepore he was so reduced that it was deemed impracticable for him to think of ever reaching that part of the country where the army were then encamped. He was therefore conveyed on shore at Ghazepore, when, being convinced he was upon the verge of the grave, he sent off a special messenger to Calcutta to summon Sir George Barlow (then acting as Vice-President in Council) up to him at Ghazepore. Sir George accordingly went up by Dauk and arrived just in time to receive Lord Cornwallis's

instructions and directions respecting the measures it was his intention to have carried into execution had he lived, which measures he wished Sir George Barlow to adopt, and if possible to fulfil. After very gradually sinking his Lordship departed this life at Ghazeepore, where his body was interred, a very splendid monument having since been erected over his grave.

Sir George Barlow, immediately after Lord Cornwallis's death, continued his journey up to the British Camp, there without loss of time commencing a treaty with Holkar, when by conceding some important points and mutually softening others he succeeded in making a peace with the different Native powers then at war with us. Having effected this truly desirable object, although, as some snarlers asserted, at the expence of unexampled disgrace to the British character, the Baronet returned to the Presidency where, after taking the oaths of office, he occupied the Chair as Governor-General.

Marquis Wellesley in about a week after Lord Cornwallis's leaving Calcutta, embarked on board H.M.'s ship *The Earl Howe* for Europe.

A grievous change was experienced upon the succession of Sir George Barlow to the situation (so different a man in every respect) Lord Wellesley had so recently filled, the one all dignity and possessed of the most shining talents, the other a compound of meanness and pride without a particle of genius. Sir George Barlow was the son of a silk mercer in King Street, Covent Garden, and nature had certainly intended him for nothing more elevated in society than a measurer of lute strings from behind a counter: although that fickle jade, Madam Fortune, with her usual unsteadiness, threw him into so much more exalted a sphere. His manner in society was cold, distant, and formal. I do not believe he had a single friend in the world, nor one individual person about whom he cared or in whose welfare he felt at all interested.

Soon after the desolating arm of death had robbed the world of Lord Cornwallis, thereby putting Sir George

Barlow into his situation, Captain King of the Royal Navy, a fine dashing and talkative fellow, being then in Calcutta, was invited to dine at the Government House. Whilst at table Captain King made several unsuccessful attempts to engage the new Governor-General in a conversation, for he never could get more than a monosyllable in answer. He at length observed to him, "Although you and I, Sir George Barlow, are but recently become acquainted, our fathers were very old and intimate friends." This speech producing no other notice from the reserved Baronet than a slight inclination of the head, the man of war continued, "Yes, Sir George, our respective fathers were well known to each other; mine, like yours, was a silk mercer, besides which they were near neighbours, my father's shop being within a few doors of yours in King Street, Covent Garden." Still no reply. Captain King therefore determined to try what effect a point-blank interrogatory would have, and directly said, "If I am not mistaken you was apprenticed to your father as a silk mercer in King Street and served a considerable part of your time previous to your coming to India. Did you not, Sir George?" Sir George merely answered, "No, sir," whereupon Captain King gave up all idea of making the man speak.

Mr. Turner now made me an offer to take upon himself all the debts due to the office, as well as to discharge all demands upon it, likewise to pay to me a sum of ten thousand sicca rupees, and to execute a Bond of Indemnity bearing me harmless against all future claims whatsoever on account of the partnership: or, if I preferred it, he would reverse the proposition by letting me receive the whole that was due and discharging the debts, paying him the same sum of ten thousand sicca rupees with an indemnification against all sorts of claims. I did not hesitate a moment in making my election by leaving to him the liquidation of the office accounts and receiving in lieu thereof the ten thousand sicca rupees with an Indemnity Bond. On the 5th of August he paid me the amount, at the same time executing a general Release and Bond of Indemnity. He

also regularly assigned over to me a number of Bills of Cost due from Mr. Robert Samuel Perreau, and his partner, John Palling, to our office, amounting to between five and six thousand sicca rupees, a great proportion of which was money paid out of our pockets in fees to Counsel and to different officers of the Court. But as this Robert Samuel Perreau turned out a much greater thief and scoundrel than either his father or his uncle, both of whom were hanged at Tyburn, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, for forgery, by cheating every person he knew in Calcutta, and then absconding to Benocoolen, where being out of the Jurisdiction of the Supreme or any other Court I could not prosecute him as I undoubtedly otherwise would have done, and where he subsequently died insolvent, I, of course, can never expect to recover one sixpence of the debt.

About this period I paid the two last of my English debts, one being a sum of an hundred pounds I borrowed from the present Vice-Chancellor of England, Sir Thomas Plumer, brother to my friend Mr. Hall Plumer of Madras, when at home in the year 1781, the other a Bill of Mr. King, the mercer's, of whose son, the Naval Captain, I have just spoken, for silks purchased of him more than five-and-twenty years before as presents for my fair friends in London. For both these sums I allowed interest up to the day of the payment at the rate of five per cent per annum, so that none of the parties concerned were any losers by me. It was an amazing comfort to me to feel that I was at last not only a clear man, but that I had one thousand pounds in England, and a few thousand sicca rupees in my chest in Calcutta. For the first time in my life I began to think it possible I might ultimately save sufficient to enable me to return once more to my dear native land, there to enjoy at least the common and humble comforts of Old England.

In October the *Medusa*, frigate, which brought out the lamented Lord Cornwallis, departed on her return to Europe, having his late Lordship's Secretary, Mr. George Abercrombie Robinson (now a Member of Parliament and

an East India Director), on board. This vessel made a still more extraordinary passage home than she had done out, being only twelve weeks from the Bengal pilot's leaving her to her arrival at Portsmouth ! A run never before equalled ; she not having been quite nine months in performing the voyage ! The nearest to it was a run of the Company's packet, the *Lapwing*, many years before ; this ship making a voyage to Madeira, Madras, and Bengal and back to England in ten months and two days.

At a most important and critical time (as that I am now writing of certainly was) four more King's Regiments arrived in India, in order to supply the place of the 74th, 75th, and 76th, which were reduced almost to nothing, in fact so few remained that the survivors of the two last-mentioned regiments were turned over to the 74th, the officers being sent to Europe in order to raise new Corps.

My letters of this season informed me of our late Advocate-General Burroughs having obtained a seat in the House of Commons, and by selling himself and his interest to administration had been rewarded with a Baronet's title : and further, that having subsequently lost a large proportion of his fortune by gambling, he was endeavouring to obtain the Chief-Justiceship of Bengal, or, in the event of failing in that object, to content himself with the seat of a Puisne Judge. As I knew my valuable friend Sir Henry Russell was trying for the first-named situation, and fully expected he should be appointed to it, I naturally became exceedingly uneasy at hearing of the upstart Burroughs' presuming to contend for the situation, that uneasiness being increased from the general rumour that he (Burroughs) was thought likely to carry his point. Indeed, it was with considerable regret I found him likely to be upon the Bench at all.

Colonel Kirkpatrick, the Company's Resident at Hyderabad, the Court of the Nizam, having come to Calcutta for the purpose of visiting a favourite niece then recently married to Mr. Charles Buller, was taken ill upon the road when within twenty miles of the end of his journey, and died in eight days after he reached the Presidency. He was

greatly attached to Mr. Henry Russell, who had resided with him upwards of a year in the capacity of Assistant Secretary. By his last Will and Testament the Colonel spoke in very affectionate terms of Mr. Russell, whom he nominated one of his Executors, and left him as a legacy a very fine and large single stone diamond ring, of considerable value.

This season, always deemed the most sickly of any part of the year, proved more than usually so. Of the members of the Supreme Court we lost Mr. William Townsend Jones and Mr. John Stapleton, both Attornies. The latter, who had always been considered somewhat deranged, being distinguished by the name of "Mad Jack," suddenly became outrageously so, and being extremely mischievous was obliged to be closely confined in the Insane hospital, where he in a few weeks died, literally raving mad.

In December our Scotch Chief Justice, Sir John Anstruther, took his passage on board the *Walpole*, Indiaman, for Europe. Myself, as well as all Sir Henry Russell's other friends, became uneasy at the non-arrival of the Patent announcing him Chief Justice, which from his private letter he had every reason to expect would have been sent out several months before, our anxiety being materially increased by knowing that scoundrel Burroughs was aiming at the situation, nor could I help apprehending he might succeed from being upon the spot, and ready to descend to any meanness or any rascality to effect his object.

On the 20th of December the new Shrievalty commenced, and I continued in my situation of Deputy, the nomination being Sir John Royds's; my principal was Henry Churchill, Esquire. He had formerly commanded the *Walpole*, East Indiaman.

CHAPTER XIX

1806

SIR HENRY RUSSELL IS MADE CHIEF JUSTICE. THE
MUTINY AT VELLORE. THOUGHTS OF RETURNING
TO ENGLAND

EARLY in the year 1806, Mr. Edward Lloyd's health began to decline to an alarming degree. He lost his appetite and, without any positive or decided malady, visibly fell away in flesh every week ; the doctors could not ascertain what was the cause of this. They therefore, according to custom in cases where they feel themselves to be working wholly in the dark, advised change of air, which advice Sir Henry Russell strongly recommended the invalid to adopt. Mr. Lloyd, in consequence, engaged a large boat and went upon the river, but returned in three weeks worse than when he left town. He was next advised to try the sea, and accordingly engaged an apartment on board a country ship bound on a voyage to China and the East Coast.

In order to avoid a formal parting with Sir Henry Russell, Mr. Lloyd came to my house at daybreak in the morning of the day of his departure, from whence about eleven o'clock in the forenoon I put him on board the ship, being then so reduced and weak that it was necessary to hoist him in by a slung chair. Having thus seen him safely on board I shook him by the hand as I too truly predicted for the last time, for he died about three weeks afterwards upon the East Coast of the Island of Sumatra. When the news reached Calcutta I was at a friend's house where a large party were assembled, Sir Henry Russell being one of the company. During dinner a servant brought me a note

which he said was from Doctor Hare. Upon opening it I found it was to announce poor Lloyd's death, of which event he had just received an account from the surgeon of the ship. Sir Henry Russell, who sat nearly opposite to me, upon my perusing Doctor Hare's note, immediately observed : " Hickey ! I am convinced you have received some intelligence respecting my poor Edward Lloyd ; although I dread to hear the worst I entreat you to let me know what the tidings are." To attempt to deceive him I felt would be both improper and useless, I therefore gave him the particulars as they had just been communicated to me, and very much affected he was thereby. After some unsuccessful efforts to rally his spirits, finding it impossible to restrain his sorrow, he burst into a flood of tears and left the room. I followed him from the table in order to conduct him to my house, where I prevailed upon him to remain for some days.

On the second morning after the melancholy news arrived Sir Henry came into my office, and in the kindest manner, taking me by the hand, said, " It having pleased the Almighty ruler of all events to summon poor Edward Lloyd hence, by his premature and unexpected death the situation of my Clerk becomes vacant, and is very much at your service ; your success being as it always has been a great object with me, I hope and trust it will prove beneficial : all I can say is I shall at all times be desirous of making it as much so as is in my power, nor would I offer the situation to you but that I know it need not be attended with any additional trouble to you, as your Armenian Clerk Arratoon, or whatever other person you may choose to nominate for the purpose, can attend me when sitting on public business in rotation, who will enter all current matters on your behalf." This offer made in so handsome a manner, I gratefully accepted : thus once more, and most unexpectedly, becoming a Judge's clerk.

At this period I lost another highly esteemed and valuable friend by the death of Mr. Luis Barretto, with whom I came from Lisbon in the ship *Raynha de Portugal*, in the year

1782, who during the whole of that most disastrous voyage was kind and attentive to Mrs. Hickey and myself as man could be. He died from the consequences of a large boil on his back, which turned to what is termed a carbuncle, producing mortification and death. I attended the celebration of his funeral rites which, from his being of the Catholic persuasion, were performed in the Catholic Church in Calcutta with the utmost pomp and splendour and was altogether a very grand exhibition.

A report which was now prevalent throughout the British possessions in India occasioned considerable anxiety and alarm, especially amongst the mercantile people. This was that Jerome Bonaparte, brother to the tyrant of France, with a powerful squadron of ships of war, had escaped the vigilance of the British Fleet and had arrived in the Indian Seas, being at that time in the Dutch port of Batavia; it was further said that this fleet had brought out upwards of two thousand military men! The whole, however, turned out to be utterly without foundation, probably fabricated by some of the French emissaries resident in Calcutta, of which description of persons it was well known there were a great number, and that they had propagated it with a view to create uneasiness and apprehension in the public mind.

In May our silk-mercering Governor-General, Sir George Barlow, received information from England that he was not likely to hold his post long, several gentlemen being spoken of as likely to be sent to supersede him, amongst whom were Lord Minto, Lord Lauderdale, and Sir Philip Francis. Lord Minto it was said had been offered the situation, but declined accepting it, while Lord Lauderdale, on the other hand, was using all his parliamentary and private influence to obtain it. We soon afterwards further heard that the Board of Control had appointed, and His Majesty approved of the appointment of Lord Lauderdale to be Governor-General of India, but that the Court of Directors had peremptorily refused to confirm the noble Earl in such appointment, alleging that the notoriety of his

Lordship's character for violence rendered him the most unfit man of any in Great Britain to be put at the head of the Government of Asia in such turbulent times as the then present were. As the Court of Directors adhered with determined firmness to their opposition and were strenuously supported by the Proprietors at large, administration was compelled to abandon the idea of sending that nobleman out.

In the same month of May we had the gratification to receive certain information of Sir Henry Russell's being appointed Chief Justice, which pleasing intelligence was somewhat damped by being accompanied with the account of Burroughs's having succeeded in getting a seat upon the Bench as a Puisne Judge, in opposition to my friend Mr. Francis Macnaghten, who had been very sanguine in his hopes of filling that station.

Early in June Sir Henry Russell received letters telling him that his Patent had been delivered to Sir William Burroughs, who had made it a particular request that he might have the honour of conveying the same to Bengal, a request that very much offended Sir Henry Russell, who, considering the terms they had always been upon, pronounced it a piece of superlative impertinence, and clearly no one but an impudent blackguard Irishman like Burroughs would have thought of making so extraordinary a request. Amongst Sir Henry Russell's letters there was one from his brother-in-law, Lord Whitworth, another from Lord Erskine, then the Lord High Chancellor of England, and one from the head Clerk in the Patent Office, the two first-mentioned letters being addressed to him as Chief Justice, and congratulating him upon succeeding to that elevated station, the latter giving him the date and other particulars of the passing his Patent, accompanied by a memorandum of the fees due to the different officers upon the passing of the same. Upon the receipt of these documents Sir Henry Russell resolved not to wait the arrival of Sir William Burroughs, but to call a special Court and be forthwith sworn into office, for which purpose a certain day was fixed

on, three days previous to which Sir Henry was taken dangerously ill. On the morning of the day appointed for the special Court to meet, Dr. Hare thought Sir Henry Russell so unfit to appear abroad that he earnestly entreated he would not leave his house, the weather being extremely sultry, and he with a considerable degree of fever upon him, but Sir Henry Russell insisted upon going to Court, saying if Fate had decreed that he must lose his life, he was determined that he would die Chief Justice. He accordingly did proceed to the Court House, where he was sworn into office, although so excessively ill at the time it was with difficulty he went through the ceremony, and was several times very near fainting.

Thus did I become Clerk to the Chief Justice, which materially increased my income, as I not only received liberal fees for every Power of Attorney that was forwarded to England, authenticated according to custom by the Seal of the Supreme Court being affixed thereto as well as many other similar documents sanctioned by the Chief Justice's signature, but I was also annually paid upwards of two thousand sicca rupees by Government for getting authenticated the returns of all probates of Wills and Letters of Administration that were issued in the course of the twelve months. Sir Henry Russell's succession to the Chief Justiceship likewise secured for me the under-Shrievalty for the then following year, he having the nomination of Sheriff as a matter of course upon being appointed Chief Justice.

In the month of August we received very alarming accounts from Madras of an insurrection and mutiny that had broken out amongst the native troops, in which many lives were lost, and very melancholy consequences resulted. The circumstances were these : Upon the capture of Seringapatam and the death of our implacable and inveterate enemy Tippoo Sultaun, his sons, his nephews, and other branches of the family were all sent to reside in Vellore, a strong fortress in the Carnatic, but just upon the frontier of the Mysore country : a measure that was by many

persons deemed extremely impolitic, as by placing these youthful Mysoreans (all of whom had very liberal allowances of money made them !) so near what had been the territory of their slaughtered parent and relation, it might act as a temptation to the various native princes and other adherents of the family of Tippoo, of which description there were still many whose residences were in the vicinity of the district in which Vellore was, frequently to have interviews with and exert their endeavours to persuade these deceased monarch's children to make their escape and once more erect the standard of their father Tippoo Sultaun, to which, if once displayed, many thousand gallant soldiers would instantly flock ; besides which the wealth the young Princes possessed would enable them to buy over many discontented Sepoys then in the British service.

Whether this was a well-grounded suggestion or not, is difficult to ascertain, but certainly it was a plea subsequently made use of by many of the revoltors and that they could not resist the sums of money that they were bribed with. Be this as it may, two Battalions of the Company's Sepoys which formed a principal part of the Garrison of Vellore, having previously arranged their plan of operations, secreted a large quantity of ammunition, and privately getting down from the ramparts some of the lightest of the cannon which they loaded with grape shot, pointed the muzzles opposite the entrance to the European Barracks. Having effected thus much unobserved, and in the early part of the evening, they at two o'clock in the morning suddenly rose in a body commencing their savage work by butchering every man of the main and pickets guards, the whole of which on that fatal night consisted of European Artillery. They next commenced a tremendous fire of grape shot upon the Barracks wherein His Majesty's 69th Regiment were lodged, they likewise constituting part of the Garrison, some of the insurgents at the same time by the assistance of ladders getting into the windows in the rear of the building. The unfortunate men of the 69th being thus taken by surprise and in a profound sleep, two hundred of them

were massacred without the least resistance. A small proportion of the Regiment, however, whose quarters happened to be in a more retired part of the building, hearing a violent uproar attended with the frequent discharge of both cannon and small arms, arose from their couches, and without waiting to put on their clothes, seized their muskets, fixed the bayonets, and getting out of the apartment drew up in a line upon the rampart where, by their determined courage, they kept the whole body of assailants at bay.

A subaltern officer who had been ill of a violent fever and who was in consequence ordered by his Doctor to sleep outside of the Fort for the benefit of a purer air, being awakened by the fire of the guns within the Fort, knew that something serious must have occurred. He therefore mounted a fleet horse, and with the utmost speed galloped off to the Cavalry cantonments, distant upwards of twenty miles from Vellore, where having represented what he had heard and his opinion that a mutiny had arisen to the Commanding Officer, Major Gillespie, that gentleman without losing a moment, ordered out an entire Regiment with three troops of His Majesty's 19th Regiment of Light Dragoons, the detachment being completely accoutred and mounted in a few minutes. Major Gillespie then putting himself at their head galloped away for the scene of disturbance, and such was the despatch they used, that they reached Vellore by six o'clock in the morning, being much earlier than the mutineers conceived any assistance could arrive.

The small party of the 69th that had drawn up on the rampart where they declared their determination to sell their lives dearly, by their spirited behaviour deterred the insurgents, although fifty times their number, from attacking them, thus gaining time for the Cavalry to come up. Major Gillespie, when he quitted the cantonments, left orders for the horse artillery attached to his brigade, and which were called gallopers, to follow him as fast as possible. When within three miles of Vellore Major Gillespie with

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three troops pushed on more rapidly than the rest. This advanced party got to the foot of the works where they found the outer Gate abandoned, and wide open, but the inner Gate was shut, and so well secured that it was not deemed prudent to attempt to force it. Major Gillespie then rode round the Glacis until he arrived at the Bastion where the small party of brave fellows of the 69th Regiment had nobly maintained their position in spite of the host of enemies by whom they were enveloped. By means of a rope Major Gillespie was hoisted up from the ditch into the midst of them when, after consulting with the brave men, he found nothing effectual could be done until the guns should arrive. He therefore after drawing up a dozen of his favourite troopers whom he left to assist, recommended them to hold out to the last extremity with their bayonets, if attacked, and was lowered down again to resume the command of his Corps.

In about an hour afterwards the gallopers joined, whereupon Major Gillespie ordered the inner gate might be battered to pieces, which order was forthwith carried into effect; the Dragoons entered, sword in hand, through a galling and severe fire of Artillery and small arms kept up by those within, many of whom fired from buildings and from the windows of houses where they were sheltered and could not be seen. Amongst those that acted more openly, the Dragoons made dreadful havoc with their sabres, not a man of either of the two mutinous Battalions was spared; being easily distinguished by their regimentals they were directly cut down without mercy, and upwards of eight hundred of them were put to death. The Dragoons, as well as the remnant of the 69th, justly exasperated at the fate of so large a proportion of their unfortunate comrades, whose mangled bodies were laying about in every direction, cut down every native whom they met with, so that in the shocking scene of confusion that ensued many women and unoffending children were sacrificed to the fury of the incensed soldiery. The carnage was of course dreadful, continuing for a period of full two hours, nor did it cease

in fact until there were no subjects remaining upon whom they could vent their revenge. It was with the utmost difficulty the party who had the immediate charge of Tippoo's sons and family could prevent the infuriated soldiers from breaking into the house in which they were lodged and putting the whole of them to death. Dead carcases were strewed all over the Fort, and numerous maimed wretches found secreted in holes and corners. In the early part of the massacre by the mutineers, while one party of those desperadoes were butchering the Europeans, another employed themselves in murdering certain of their own officers whom they suspected of being too much attached to the British interests and too faithful to their European employers to join in the general destruction it was intended to effect.

The bloody business having at length subsided, an examination and strict search into the interior of the different buildings and places followed, wherein many piteous objects were found, some dead, some dying, others laying upon the ground miserably cut and maimed. Amongst the latter was a fine lad of about twenty years of age, an Ensign belonging to one of the two Battalions that mutinied who, from the sweetness of his disposition and extraordinary mildness of manners, had been a universal favourite not only in his own Corps, but with everybody that knew him. When the insurrection first burst out this young gentleman, being upon duty, was going the customary night rounds, when in passing one of the Sepoy sentries the man coming close up whispered in his ear not to lose a moment in seeking a place of safety, otherwise he must fall in the general ruin about to occur. Scarcely had he given the caution when the firing commenced. The Ensign thereupon sought shelter in the quarters of a friend, a Captain in the Army, opposite whose door he happened to be at the time. He found this friend and another gentleman just rising from their beds, having been awakened by the discharge of muskets in the street. Almost in the same instant that the youth had entered, this house was attacked, the three

gentlemen having barely time to retire by a private back staircase to a bathing room, into which they shut themselves, securing the door in the best manner they could on the inside, anxiously listening to the murderers whom they heard destroying the furniture and barbarously butchering the servants of the house. After being an hour or more confined in this apartment, which had so far answered the intended purpose of affording them security, the young Ensign with much exultation joyfully cried out, "Oh, my friends, we shall now be preserved, for I hear the voice of my dear Chaund and I will go out and speak to him."

He accordingly did so, calling aloud to Chaund to protect him, announcing at the same time who he was, when instead of receiving the protection he claimed, and had every right to expect, the base villain Chaund cried out to his accomplices that the person speaking to him was one of the tyrant Ballattee Bahaudurs, their oppressors and murderers, and must die with the rest of the Fringeers, saying which he actually gave the first blow himself with a scimitar which brought the poor youth to the ground, the unfeeling Chaund, standing by whilst several others maimed the unfortunate young man as he lay prostrate, imploring mercy, and still continuing, in vain, to call upon Chaund, his brother Chaund to save his life. The cruel villains did not leave off cutting at him until, from his at last ceasing to speak, through loss of blood, they concluded him dead, and quitted him in search of other prey.

The ingratitude of this monster Chaund was without parallel! In a dreadful famine that had occurred seventeen years before, the father of the above-mentioned Ensign, who then held the rank of a Major in the British Army, one morning found laying at his door two famished wretches, a man and a woman, with a male child apparently about three years of age. The poor wretches were so reduced from want of food as to be absolutely skeletons, and notwithstanding every humane assistance was promptly given, the unhappy parents proved past relief, and both died, with their last breaths beseeching protection for their miserable infant.

The child (which was the horrible Chaund above mentioned) was accordingly taken into the house and by the extraordinary attention and care of the Major's lady and her family was not only preserved from death, but ever afterwards retained in the family and treated with the tenderest fondness, being brought up with their own son, the young officer above alluded to, who was taught to consider and call him his "brother Chaund." Thus did he continue with this humane and kind-hearted family until he and his patron's only son reached the age of seventeen, when the latter going into the Army in which his father was then a full Colonel, Chaund expressed a wish to follow the same example, in consequence of which the Colonel caused him to be instructed in military tactics, at the end of a year making him a Havildar in his own Regiment, and at the period of the insurrection he had been promoted to a Soubahdar, the highest native officer, of Sepoys, and similar to our own rank of Captain. The ungrateful villain repaid the long-continued, the unvaried friendship and benevolence of the family towards him, in the horrible manner I have just mentioned, by becoming the wanton, the cruel murderer, of his patron's offspring, who had also been his constant companion, his fast, his faithful friend, from early infancy! The unfortunate Ensign survived only a few hours, living just long enough to record the unheard-of ferocity of the villain Chaund. So much for Oriental gratitude!

The British Commanding Officer of the Garrison, with fourteen others of different ranks, lost their lives during this horrible night, the mutineers murdering several of them in their beds, as they likewise did a number of the soldiers with their infant children, sleeping by their sides, though they did not offer to touch or any way molest the mothers. No less unaccountable is it that they spared Lieutenant-Colonel Marriott, the officer who had the immediate charge of the persons of the Mysorean Princes, and this became the more extraordinary from their cutting down and dreadfully wounding the Colonel's brother, who was

in the same room with him when the mutineers broke open the doors and burst into the house. Colonel Marriott, who spoke and understood the language of the country perfectly well, heard the Jemadar who headed the party when forcibly entering his habitation, desire the men not to discharge their muskets lest they should do injury to the new walls, the house having been recently repaired, painted, and beautified, the fellow further observing that he should make it his own residence.

After the Dragoons had obtained complete possession of the Fort, many of the Sepoys and others who had secreted themselves when they found His Majesty's troops likely to succeed, were dragged forth from their hiding-places, instantly tried by a drum-head Court Martial, found guilty of mutiny and murder, and directly executed. A few others, amongst whom were some native officers that had been particularly active in the insurrection, were sent under a strong escort prisoners to Madras, there to undergo a more formal punishment after conviction of their atrocious crimes.

The Mysorean Princes professed their entire ignorance of any such plot being on foot, and asserted that after the insurrection had actually commenced they had not taken any part whatsoever therein. Notwithstanding which declaration, the general opinion was that they were privy to the whole scheme, giving it their entire sanction, support, and assistance. At the very same time that this melancholy business was transacting at Vellore, a large body of Native troops doing duty within the Fortress of Seringapatam, Tippoo's late capital, mutinied, as was supposed, by a previous agreement entered into with the Sepoy part of the garrison of Vellore. The circumstance was rendered the more serious and alarming by a Regiment of Native Cavalry that were ordered out to quell the insurrection, instead of executing such orders, joined the mutineers, vowing to exterminate every Fringe in the country and restore the family of their legal Sovereign to the Throne. His Majesty's 33rd Regiment and part of two other European Corps that

were in the outworks of the Fort, assembling under arms with the utmost alacrity, and acting with a spirit of enthusiastic bravery, soon put an end to the mutiny, seizing several of the principal ringleaders and instantly, without the least ceremony, hanging them upon the spot.

Many persons conceived this insubordination in the Sepoys, who had thentofore invariably shown the strongest degree of attachment to the English, originated in a very mistaken and ill-judged order issued by Sir John Craddock, the Commander-in-Chief of the Coast troops, some months before, which order required the Sepoys not only to cease rubbing upon their foreheads certain coloured stuff in particular forms, according to long practice, and in conformity to their religious duties, but what was equally if not more obnoxious, requiring them to wear upon their heads a new kind of cap made of leather, instead of their turbans, which alteration the Sepoys insisted would affect their castes, the leather being made from the skins of animals they held in veneration, meaning cows and oxen.

When this impolitic order was first issued, the men very temperately and mildly stated their objections to wearing caps of such a description, begging they might not be compelled so to do, to which remonstrances and petitions not the smallest attention was paid ; on the contrary, Sir John Craddock treated the representations therein made as exaggerated and absurd as well as disrespectful to the Government ; observing that the Sepoys were bound to obey the orders of their superiors in every respect without descanting upon them, which he was resolved to convince them of, and if necessary to enforce obedience by adopting coercive measures. Of the impolicy and wildness of such conduct in the Commander-in-Chief there was but one opinion ; some of the oldest and most experienced officers in the Company's service did not hesitate to speak their sentiments very freely to Sir John Craddock upon the occasion, remarking upon the extreme danger that must attend any attempts to encroach upon what was universally

considered to be the fixed and established prerogatives and rights of the natives, bigoted too as they were to their religious customs and ceremonies. The same officers further observed that the British interest, its consequence and influence in Asia, had arrived at its then height, by at all times most cautiously avoiding everything like interference with, much less a decided prevention of the natives of different persuasions or castes exercising any of their long-established ceremonies, no matter how absurd such ceremonies might appear to the eyes of Europeans.

Another bad consequence attending this unhappy business was the unconquerable animosity it created in the minds of the European private soldiers against the whole body of Sepoys, which antipathy shewed itself in numerous instances, especially so in the survivors of His Majesty's 69th Regiment, who from the time of the Vellore insurrection almost daily and in cold blood put to death the Sepoys whom they casually fell in with, several of whom were thus murdered in the public roads and in open daylight. Nay, so far was the animosity carried that some of the poor creatures were massacred whilst standing sentries or performing other parts of military duty. This mistaken violence and cruelty was practised too against men who had remained firm and steady in their attachment to the British nation and who had positively refused to join in the mutiny. To such a dreadful length did the want of discipline extend that the officers were afraid to call the soldiers to any account for these enormities, neither could the Government itself venture to take any steps against them or adopt any other measures than those of issuing conciliatory and in some instances disgracefully humiliating public orders, a mode of proceeding pursued under the hope of thereby restoring discipline and subordination, and bringing back the soldiers to obedience and good order.

My good friend Sir Henry Russell, finding the living by himself extremely unpleasant, especially as the house he resided in was nearly two miles from the central part of Calcutta, I suggested the plan of his going to live in the

Court House, where he would not only be surrounded by his acquaintances and persons to whom he was attached, but would also avoid the heavy expence of house rent. Availing himself of this hint of mine, Sir Henry went over the whole of the apartments that very morning which he admired exceedingly. Everything was immediately arranged with respect to the removal of the Register and other officers of the Court who occupied some of the rooms, and within a fortnight afterwards the Chief Justice was comfortably settled therein.

My letters from Europe of this season brought the intelligence of the death of my father's old fellow-collegian and friend, Lord Macartney, whom I have already spoken of as Governor of Madras at the time of my return to that Settlement from Europe in the year 1783.

In the month of September I had the mortification to hear that Sir William Burroughs was arrived in Madras on his way to Bengal—there to take his seat upon the Bench of the Supreme Court as Junior Puisne Judge.

My practice as an Attorney was now become so much more productive and the Establishment of my office so materially less than it had ever been in Mr. Turner's time, that I monthly laid up money and began seriously to think it possible and even probable that I might yet survive long enough once more to visit the congenial shores of Old England, an idea that proved so highly gratifying that from being the most indifferent person that ever was respecting current expenditures, I commenced a system of the closest attention to my outgoings. So much so that my principal native Clerk, Ramdhone Ghose, who had been in my employ ever since the year 1783, protested he had never seen so great an alteration, for that I certainly had become as arrant a Jew as Nemychurn Mullick himself. When the partnership with Mr. Turner was dissolved, Gour Day, who had acted as our joint Banian, left me to follow Mr. Turner, and from that period I never engaged any other person in the same capacity, from which circumstance I derived incalculable profit.

Lord Lake, offended at some measures Sir George Barlow the Governor-General had lately taken upon himself to carry into execution without consulting the other members of Government, some of which trenched upon the military department, quitted the Army and went down to the Presidency with an intention to attend the Boards and oppose the *ci devant* man of silk in Council. His Lordship was received by the higher order of society in Calcutta with the most respectful and kind attention. Every day of the week he was invited to some festive entertainment, all of which he appeared to enjoy and partake of with peculiar satisfaction, being constantly in spirits and the highest good-humour. If there was any exception to this description of his behaviour it was at the dinners given by Sir George Barlow, where, although he considered from the elevated station that he filled as a member of Government that it was incumbent to be present, he was always distant, ceremonious, and formal, and invariably the first of the guests that quitted the table; whereas at the houses of other gentlemen he usually sat out the whole of the company. This line of conduct Sir George Barlow could not do otherwise than observe, and there is no doubt of his being extremely mortified thereat.

I had the honour of being invited to most of the entertainments thus given, at which Lord Lake always recognized me as the son and brother of two very old friends of his with whom he said he had spent many pleasant social days, and he never failed during dinner challenging me to drink a bumper of claret to the memories of my father and sister. His Lordship now publicly declared his intention of returning to Europe, making no scruple of swearing that no consideration on earth should induce him longer to serve in any capacity with so paltry and contemptible a colleague as Sir George Barlow.

The civilians of the Settlement gave his Lordship a most superb and splendid entertainment at which a complimentary address was presented to him, accompanied by an elegant and costly sword. This fête was followed by another,

equally magnificent, given to his Lordship by the military of the Presidency station.

On the 29th of October that disagreeable and offensive coxcomb, Sir William Burroughs, arrived in Calcutta, being accompanied by his eldest daughter, as odious an animal as himself. He brought two daughters with him from England, but the youngest proving to the taste of Sir Thomas Strange, then Chief Justice of the Court of Madras, he, although old enough to have been her grandfather, proposed, was without hesitation accepted, and married her.

Sir George Barlow, having determined to send his wife and children to England, engaged an elegant little vessel for the purpose, called the *Mercury*, which he employed as a packet, and putting the family on board in the beginning of November, she was despatched for Europe.

I now sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Rammohun Mozendar, the head native Clerk in the Sheriff's office, whom I had first introduced as a common Cranny or writer, when Under-Sheriff to my friend Mr. Robert Morse in the year 1784, and he had continued in the employ of the subsequent Sheriffs from that period without intermission. He was consequently perfectly well acquainted with all the points of business that could occur, and thereby relieved the Deputy-Sheriff from much of the labour and personal attendance he otherwise must have had. He was taken ill while sitting writing at his desk opposite to me, whereupon I sent him home directly in my palankeen, and in three hours afterwards he died.

As I had not been upon speaking terms with Sir William Burroughs for a long time previous to his leaving India, to return to Europe, I did not consider it at all necessary to pay him the compliment of a visit upon his coming out as a Judge, but at the end of a fortnight after his arrival many of my friends whose opinions carried great weight strongly recommending me to go through the formal ceremony of at least leaving a card at his door, and Mr. Churchill the Sheriff, who was absent from Calcutta when the reptile

took his station as a Judge, requesting that I would accompany him upon a ceremonious visit, I yielded, and went accordingly, though I certainly took special care previously to ascertain at what hour he was least likely to be at home, and fixed upon that time for the call. Being from home we left our cards with the Durwan, two days after which he returned the compliment at a time I happened to be at home, when a very cold interview took place, and there all personal intercourse between us dropped.

The morning after his arrival Sir William Burroughs called upon Sir Henry Russell, to whom he was disgustingly complimentary, making the most fulsome panegyrics upon the manner in which he understood the business of the Court had been conducted since he, Sir Henry Russell, had presided as Chief Justice, and expressed the great gratification it would afford him to add his humble efforts towards a continuance of the same advantages to the public which must follow the speedy administration of Justice and decision of Causes. I, of course, frequently met the proud upstart in parties, where nothing more ever passed between us than a distant salutation by bow without speaking. Notwithstanding the mean wretch continued to court Sir Henry Russell in the meanest way, the latter declined all social intercourse, receiving him with the most chilling and cold formality, and holding no further communication with him than their relative situations as sitting upon the same Bench, rendered in a certain degree indispensable.

In November an overland despatch arrived from Europe, which announced the appointment of Lord Minto to the situation of Governor-General, to the great disappointment and annoyance of the silk-mercering Knight of the Bath, who had the vanity and presumption to suppose his own prodigious merits would have secured to him that elevated station as long as he should choose to retain it. Lord Minto and I, when children, had been playfellows at Twickenham where both our fathers resided. The same despatch likewise informed us that General Simcoe had been appointed Commander-in-Chief at Bengal, for which place

he, as well as Lord Minto, were expected to embark in a few weeks after the packet.

About the same period I was agreeably surprized at receiving a most kind and friendly letter from Captain George Byng, the pickle boy I have already mentioned as a Midshipman of the *Superb*, under Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, in the year 1783, when he touched me for a certain number of pagodas under pretence of being in want of shoes and stockings. He wrote me that he had risen to the rank of Post-Captain in the Navy, and at that time commanded the *Belliqueux*, a fine sixty-four gun ship on board of which he had convoyed a large fleet of the Company's ships from the Cape of Good Hope to India, and that he remained upon the Madras station under the command of Admiral Sir Edward Pellew.

On the 20th of December, Mr. James Archibald Simpson, upon the nomination of Sir Henry Russell, as Chief Justice, became High Sheriff of Calcutta and its Dependencies, and I continued in the situation of Deputy or Under-Sheriff to conduct the duties of the office, with a fair prospect of an advantageous year, there having just then been several Armenians and other foreign merchants who from embarking in unsuccessful speculations had failed, which necessarily occasioned much litigation and consequently Writs of Execution, with the customary poundage, that is, a commission or allowance of five per cent upon the first hundred rupees, and two and a half per cent upon every other hundred rupees, directed to be levied, from which source all Sheriffs derive their principal emolument. The Chief Justice had intended to make his eldest son, Mr. Henry Russell, Sheriff that year, but through the interference of Sir George Barlow, and some other men in power, the young gentleman was induced to go back to Hyderabad, which he wished not to have done and had made up his mind that he would not, from personally disliking Mr. Sydenham who had been Head Secretary, and upon Colonel Kirkpatrick's death succeeded to the Residency at the Nizam's Court.

The *Skelton Castle*, outward bound East Indiaman, and as unfortunately often happens in similar circumstances, crowded with passengers and troops to recruit His Majesty's Regiments at the different Presidencies, from the length of time that had elapsed from her leaving England, became a missing ship. Everybody became exceedingly anxious about her, and she was finally given up as being either lost at sea or perished by the equally dreadful calamity of fire. We learnt that she had sailed from Portsmouth with a large fleet. When off the Cape of Good Hope, the Commodore by signals communicated his intentions to the fleet that he proposed putting into that port, his own and several other of the ships being much in want of water and fresh provisions. The Captain of the *Skelton Castle* nevertheless determined to stand on, being probably influenced so to do by interested motives, hoping to derive peculiar advantage by being the first ship of the Season at the India market. He therefore answered the Commodore's signal by observing that as he had an ample stock of water remaining and was in no want of fresh provisions he should avail himself of the fair wind that was then blowing and stand on for Madras. He accordingly did so, a single ship, all the others following the Commodore into the Cape, and was never afterwards seen or heard of. Thus do avaricious and greedy men sometimes overreach themselves.

CHAPTER XX

1807

A CAPTIVE INDIAN PRINCE. THE MURDER OF
MR. ARNOTT. PREPARING TO LEAVE INDIA.
AN AMBASSADOR FROM PERSIA. ARRIVAL OF
LORD MINTO AND HIS SONS

IN January, 1807, Lord Lake embarked for Europe on board the Company's ship *Walthamstow*, to the great regret of the whole Army, by whom he was deservedly respected and in the highest possible degree. His Lordship with his family, which consisted of himself and two daughters, one of whom had been recently married to a Captain Harvey who had a company in the 80th, the General's own regiment, and held a lucrative staff appointment under Lord Lake, dined with Sir John Royds at his Garden house, on their passage down to the ship and I was invited to the party. The eldest daughter had some time before married a Mr. Brooks who came out in the same ship with her, a fine strapping broad-shouldered fellow in the Company's military service, whom the veteran General very handsomely provided for by appointing him Deputy-Quarter-Master-General, which besides the advantages of the thing itself, gave him at once the important rank of a Major in the Army. Major and Mrs. Brooks were to remain in India, but Captain and Mrs. Harvey accompanied Lord Lake to Europe.

Although cash now multiplied fast with me, my health was materially affected by being obliged to work extremely hard at my desk, in conducting the general business of my office, but more especially by attending to three causes of

great importance, two of them particularly so. The first being a family dispute between the sons of the opulent native, Nemychurn Mullick, whom I have already more than once mentioned. This man had acquired an extraordinary efficiency in our laws, so much so that he had for many years been the adviser of all those who had anything to do with Courts of Justice and was competent to tell them whether they had sufficient merits in their cases to justify the commencement of or the defence of a suit. He was also perfectly conversant with the distinction between an equitable and a legal title, and was in the practice of sitting every evening in his own house for a certain number of hours, to hear the statements of the various persons that attended for the purpose of consulting him, for which by the by, it was said and I have no doubt truly, that he made those suitors whose causes he espoused and patronized, amply repay him for his trouble and his time by exacting a very high percentage upon whatever the amount recovered, or saved, might be. Yet this shrewd and uncommonly clever fellow, notwithstanding he knew so much of Law for others, fell into the very error it had been the principal object of the last dozen years of his life to avoid, and using every precaution in his power to guard against by so arranging and settling his pecuniary concerns as to make it impossible for his sons to enter into any litigation or dissension with each other after his death. With this in view he drew out three different papers in the nature of wills, the second and third being altogether explanatory of the first. His last illness was a long one, and he went off very gradually. During the progress of the disease he over and over again summoned all his sons, being eight in number, the youngest of whom was upwards of eighteen years of age, into his presence, when he equally exerted his persuasive powers and his parental authority in endeavouring to make them promise that they would continue friends when he was no more; but above all, that they would abide by the settlement and provision he had made for them respectively. He further pressed that the six juniors would consent to

the management of the estate after the fortunes of the six were paid. This the six juniors without hesitation and in the most peremptory terms refused to accede to, telling their dying father that they considered themselves most unjustly dealt by, inasmuch as so unequal a proportion of the estate was given to their two elder brothers. The death of Nemychurn Mullick being expected every moment, the Advocate-General recommended that a Bill in Equity might be prepared against the old man's two eldest sons praying on behalf of the six youngest children an equal distribution of the estate with their two elder brothers. The suit continued during the remainder of my residence in Calcutta. It would in itself have proved a little fortune to me could I have waited for its conclusion. As it was it yielded me a very considerable profit.

The other cause that called for at least an equal degree of care and assiduous attention with that of the Mullicks was one instituted by the East India Company against Walter Ewer, Esquire, as Chief Resident or Commissioner at their Settlement of Bencoolen upon the Island of Sumatra, in the discussion of which the Advocate-General betrayed a degree of violence and malignancy as greatly to lower him in my estimation and which I could not consider otherwise than disgraceful to his professional character. The Company claimed against Mr. Ewer the whole amount expended by him during his government or a particular and satisfactory account of the manner in which it had been so expended, the amount being upwards of three million of sicca rupees. With equal propriety and justice might they have called upon Lord Wellesley to account individually for every anna disbursed in the course of his very expensive administration. This cruel demand I, as Mr. Ewer's solicitor, met in the best way I could so long as I conducted it, making at least a tolerably good fight. Upon the final decision, however, long after I left India, I was grieved to hear the Company had obtained a decree for nearly four lacs of rupees, or in pounds sterling, forty thousand, in consequence of which he became a prisoner in that very Jail

of which he had only a few years before had the chief management as High Sheriff. Much the larger proportion of this decree arose from an act of roguery of a Mr. Blair, who acted as Treasurer under Mr. Ewer. This fellow, instead of destroying a parcel of certificates that had been called in and paid off, and which Mr. Ewer having as he thought seen cancelled, concluded became utterly waste paper, secreted and after a certain lapse of time reissued them, converting the sum thus fraudulently obtained to his own use, and for which amount the law pronounced Mr. Ewer to be responsible.

In the beginning of this year (1807) Doctor Hare, Junior, told me I really ought to leave India if I wished to prolong my life for a few years, for that my constitution was so undermined and my frame so debilitated from a long residence and laborious life in a sultry climate that a change was become indispensably requisite as the only chance of bracing me up again. I therefore began to turn my thoughts once more towards Old England. My property by this time amounted to seventy thousand sicca rupees, the whole being invested in Company's paper bearing an interest of eight per cent, which sum I had every reasonable prospect of materially increasing in another twelvemonth, the idea of doing which induced me to become an economist and to save every rupee I possibly could.

In consequence of the unhappy business at Vellore the male part of Tippoo Sultaun's family who had upon the death of their father and capture of his capital of Seringapatam resided within the Fortress of Vellore, were removed to Bengal, where they were lodged in small bungalows little better than the huts of the meanest natives, erected for them in the garden of the house thentofore belonging to Richard Johnson, Esq., situate at Russapugly, five miles from Calcutta, except Moiz oo Deen, the second son, who from being pronounced more culpable than any other of the Princes, and more deeply concerned in the plot that brought about the insurrection and massacre, was in consequence thereof confined a close prisoner in the Jail of

Calcutta, where he occupied the same suite of apartments the Nabob Shumsed Dowlah had inhabited during his confinement for disaffection to the British Government. This offspring of the Mysorean sovereign was an elegantly formed young man, apparently about eight-and-twenty years of age, remarkably fair for an Asiatic, with a very expressive countenance. He appeared to be uncommonly dejected and out of spirits. From the pictures and prints I have seen of Tippoo, this son was wonderfully like him.

The orders I, as Under-Sheriff, received from Government respecting this unfortunate young man was to treat him exactly in the same manner as the Nabob Shumsed Dowlah had been ; I therefore procured servants of every description to attend him, and his table was furnished in the best style according to the Hindostannee mode of living, though he scarcely ever touched any other than the most simple and plain curries, frequently for several succeeding days eating nothing but dry rice ; notwithstanding which moderation on his part, if he perceived the slightest alteration for the worse in his dinners he immediately complained to me, saying he always liked to see abundance, and of the best provisions, as it sometimes tempted him to eat when he had no inclination to take nourishment : but the fact was that his gratification arose from sharing out among the servants what was intended for himself.

This young man was extremely slovenly in his dress, and when he first landed from the ship that brought him from the coast, was absolutely filthy, his garments really and truly stinking. Upon his arrival he was with all possible dispatch supplied with an assortment of the best sort of clothing, yet could not be prevailed upon to clean himself, declaring he preferred using the habits he had been used to, besides which he saw not the least necessity for attending to the ornaments of his person when he was locked up like a condemned thief. By good-humour and gentle persuasions, however, I in two or three days succeeded in making him consent to put on clean clothes. In somewhat less than two

months after he became an inhabitant of the Jail, I was so great a favourite of his that he would do any and everything I desired. But this violent and sudden attachment was attended with considerable inconvenience to me, for if a single day elapsed without my going to him, I was sure to receive three or four messages from him, requesting to see me immediately, he having something of importance to communicate, and when I obeyed the summons, which I always made a point of doing as soon as I could, it turned out he had nothing particular to state except his admitting that the only alleviation he had from misery and despair arose from the few minutes when I gave him my company, and that consequently it was natural for him to wish to see me as often as he could, more especially as he understood my instructions were not to allow any stranger nor indeed any person whomsoever to visit or to see him except in my presence or in that of the Sheriff. He was aware also that I was forbid to allow him the use of pen, ink, and paper, of which deprivation he complained much, observing he had from infancy been accustomed to write down daily prayers of his own composition, and it was a superlative degree of cruelty and tyranny to debar him the means of continuing to do so. In about six weeks after his confinement I obtained leave from Government to furnish him with materials for writing upon my engaging to inspect whatever he wrote, and taking special care that he neither received any written address from any person whomsoever nor should send any letter or writing to any person whatsoever. His professions of gratitude to me for procuring this indulgence were unbounded. After being supplied with pen, ink, and paper he generally employed himself seven or eight hours daily in writing Persian poems or religious tracts that he recollected.

Colonel Marriott, who had the care of the princes at Vellore and who accompanied them from thence to Calcutta, assured me that the selecting Moiz oo Deen as the object of peculiar severity was most cruel and unjust, for that neither he, nor any of his brothers, or other branches of the family

had any more to do with the insurrection than he (the Colonel) had, nor did it originate in any of their dependents or people. Nay, so far was Moiz oo Deen from attempting to make his escape from Vellore during the confusion, as was pretended, he on the contrary sought for him (Colonel Marriott) and upon finding him seemed to be in the greatest distress of mind imaginable, repeatedly and earnestly expressing his hope that the mutineers might be quelled. Colonel Marriott further declared that the suspicions raised against Moiz oo Deen and the other princes, originated in the Government of Madras, the members of which had propagated such report with the double view of quieting the minds of the people in general, and in order to pacify the remains of His Majesty's 69th Regiment, which continued in a state of dreadful insubordination, daily committing the most wanton and atrocious murders upon the unoffending natives, which they were induced to do by way of revenge for the deaths of their comrades who had been massacred within the walls of Vellore.

Colonel Marriott made no scruple of holding the same language respecting the severity with which the Prince Moiz oo Deen was treated in all companies he went into, and I have every reason to think he asserted nothing but what was absolutely true.

About the period I am now writing of, Mr. Frederick Maitland Arnott, who came out as a Cadet to India in the same ship I was on board of in the season of 1777, and who after attaining the rank of a Captain quitted the Army in order to turn indigo maker, was barbarously murdered within a mile or two of his own residence at Kishnaghur. He, according to the custom of the country, had made advances of money to the Ryots or cultivators of land, for the purpose of enabling them to grow the indigo weed for his use. Finding that these people, instead of delivering their weed when at maturity to him, pursuant to their contracts, were selling it to other manufacturers, he, as was generally done in India upon similar occasions, resolved to take the law into his own hands, and to execute summary

justice. He, however, first went into a small village where some of these Ryots lived, to endeavour to persuade them to fulfil their engagements, but without success. He then had recourse to coercive measures, seizing one of the principals whom he was dragging away, intending to confine him until the indigo weed should be forthcoming, when several hundreds of persons instantly collected and surrounded him, many of whom being armed with large bamboos, they attacked Mr. Arnott, soon bringing him to the ground. While laying there wholly defenceless, they continued beating him until he became a perfect mummy. While any sense remained he never ceased imploring for mercy, promising them large sums of money if they would spare his life, but all in vain. With a fractured skull and every rib broken from the severity of the blows, he was at last carried to his own house where his unfortunate wife saw him only to receive his last breath : he expired almost immediately. Mrs. Arnott was a very lovely young woman, daughter to Mr. Greer, the chief mate of the *Nassau*, when I went home in the year 1779.

The most extraordinary part of this melancholy transaction was that the Government of Bengal made little or no enquiries about the matter, nor were any active measures adopted to bring the perpetrators of the atrocious murder to justice ; on the contrary, it became the fashion to condemn poor Arnott, the junior part of the Service declaring that he met his death most deservedly, and that had he survived he must have been condemned to suffer ignominiously for putting two natives to death without a shadow of reason. As I had every reason to believe such an assertion false and unfounded, I never heard it mentioned without rebuking the author and endeavouring to defend the memory of my unfortunate friend.

In May we received the news of Lord Minto's being actually appointed Governor-General, and that he might be expected to arrive in Bengal in the course of a month or six weeks.

I was now so tormented by headache and all my old spasmodic complaints that Doctor Hare renewed his wish

and recommendation that I should leave India, in consequence of which, and feeling the necessity of following the advice, I resolved to return to England the then ensuing season, and therefore from thenceforth declined accepting any new business.

In the month of June, General Dowdeswell, who had been appointed to the King's Staff in Bengal, upon the vacancy occasioned by the death of General John Smith, became so seriously ill as to be under the necessity of relinquishing his situation and embarking for Europe, which he did on board the *Indus*. The whole settlement lamented his departure, and the cause of it, he being a very accomplished gentleman and excellent member of society. He had been brought up in the Guards, in which Corps he was a contemporary with my friend General St. Leger. He was likewise much attached to another departed friend of mine, Major Barrington Bradshaw. I had afterwards the satisfaction to hear that although at the time General Dowdeswell left Bengal it was thought impossible he would survive, he during the voyage perfectly recovered his health, and became once more a strong and vigorous man.

My time was now fully occupied in endeavouring to bring all my pecuniary concerns to a conclusion, and my health being worse than ever, prevented me from going to Sir Henry Russell's so frequently as I had thentofore been in the habit of doing, at which he to some of my friends expressed himself equally surprized as mortified, saying he felt it the more unkind in me because it sometimes happened that he wanted to consult with me on matters of business that occurred in which he thought my interest as his Clerk might be affected. This circumstance being mentioned to me from two or three different quarters, I considered it incumbent on me to say something upon the subject, and accordingly wrote a letter to Sir Henry expressing my concern at what I had heard, ascribing the apparent neglect to the true cause; I at the same time apologized for not attending as his Clerk, but as he at the time of appointing me to that situation had the kindness to say he should

dispense with my being present when he sat in Chambers I had thought the less of doing so. This letter of mine produced the following answer :

"DEAR HICKEY,

" July, 23, 1807.

I certainly have been very much mortified at never seeing anything of you, so near as you live to me, and so much as I am alone. You know that I never did wish to give you the smallest trouble as my Clerk, but I should have been glad to see you as a friend, and had you occasionally looked in upon me, I should have had the pleasure of saying, 'How do you do?' at the same time that I should have told, as I have always done, that I had not the least occasion to detain you on business. I by no means require your attendance on my days of sitting in chambers, especially now, when you must necessarily be very much occupied in preparing for your departure from India. Should I upon any emergency wish you to be present, I can easily send over to your house to say so. With respect to your intention of returning to Europe the approaching season, you are already in possession of my sentiments thereon, nor shall I now presume to give any further opinion, but had you afforded me more frequent opportunities of confidential interviews, I might possibly have suggested some things for your consideration, which might have induced you to spare your health a little from the excessive fatigue of so much business as you have lately done, and thereby have rendered your stay in this country bearable, until your means had been quite adequate to your wishes. However, go when you will, and where you will, you never will find one who more sincerely wishes your welfare than your affectionate and faithful friend,

H. RUSSELL."

When I first mentioned my entertaining thoughts of leaving India, Sir Henry Russell strenuously opposed my doing so, as he conceived, from well knowing my habits of life and the style of comfort and expence I had for so many years been used to, that I had not sufficient fortune to render me contented or happy in England. In vain did I plead impaired constitution, and general failure of health, or that I every month felt myself more inadequate to undergo the toils and anxieties of an irksome and laborious pro-

fession. Sir Henry's reply always was, "Psha, nonsense, your health is not so bad as you seem to think; stay another year or two, during which Royds and myself will unite our endeavours to place you in some situation of equal emolument to what you now hold, though with less personal exertion." Which kind object he likewise alluded to in the above letter, about ten days after the receipt of which Sir Henry Russell and Doctor Hare both dined with me, when the former repeated his regret at my determination to quit India, because he saw I was just arrived at that important crisis of saving money and accumulating the same rapidly, whereupon Doctor Hare assured him my departure was absolutely necessary, so much so that he had strongly advised it as the only probable step to prolong my life.

Sir Henry Russell, upon hearing this decided opinion from a medical man on whose judgment he placed great reliance, ceased any longer to oppose my making the experiment of change of climate. I therefore wrote to my sisters to announce my intention of leaving India in the month of January or February then next ensuing, adding that if my life was spared for ten or twelve months more I should have a fair chance of seeing them in Old England.

In the month of August following a fleet of Indiamen arrived in Bengal, among which were several Commanders with whom I had been long acquainted; particularly Captain Bradford of the *Lord Duncan*, Captain Yeats of the *City of London*, Captain Garland Murray of the *Castlereagh*, Captain Cumberlege of the *Surrey*, and Captain Colnett of the *Castle Eden*. My doubt as to choice rested between the first and last mentioned, that is, between Captains Bradford and Colnett. I finally fixed upon the latter chiefly because his ship, the *Castle Eden*, had been in dock, uncoppered, and her bottom nicely examined in Messieurs Kidd's dock as she had proved extremely leaky on the outward-bound passage.

I closed with Captain Colnett, taking the starboard side of the great cabin, upon his recommendation of that situation in preference to the round house, as being upon all occasions

Supreme Court, held the high situation of Attorney and Solicitor for the Honourable Company. In the morning succeeding the night of his death, being the 16th of September, I was awakened by a servant's telling me Sir Henry Russell had sent over to desire I would come to him immediately. Knowing as I did that he was not an early riser, my first fear was that he had been attacked with the gout in his stomach. I went to his room as quickly as possible, when I found that he had sent for me to announce the death of Mr. Jackson, adding, "And now, my dear Hickey, notwithstanding what I lately heard Dr. Hare say respecting you, I cannot resist the ardent wish I feel to induce you to remain a little longer in Bengal. I trust I have given sufficient proofs of my sincere regard and that this desire to keep you here arises solely from an anxious wish to render you independent and happy. With your liberal mind and disposition to expence I am sure your present fortune is not adequate, I therefore think it my duty as an attached friend to offer you the place our departed friend held, that of Register, the advantages of which under the new arrangement are become very great. If, as I hope may be the case, you accept my offer, Sir John Royds will, I know, join me in appointing you, and there will be no necessity to make any application to Sir William Burroughs upon the occasion."

This was indeed a strong temptation, for I had good reason to know the emoluments of the office amounted to very near seven thousand pounds sterling per annum, and the duties of it carried on with very little personal trouble. Nevertheless, circumstanced as I was, I hesitated not a moment in declining the proffered kindness. Sir Henry again remarked that it was so delicate a matter to press upon he would say no more than to repeat that it was regard for me alone that made him leave the decision to my determination, and once more he hoped "all would be for the best."

At this time, that is in September, 1807, an Ambassador from the King of Persia, appointed in the stead of the unfor-

tunate man who lost his life at Bombay, in the manner already described, arrived in Calcutta. After his first audience of the Governor-General, the etiquette of Oriental Courts required that every other gentleman of the Settlement should visit him except the Chief Justice, who, as being next in rank to the Governor-General, was entitled to be first called upon. A day being accordingly fixed upon for the performance of this ceremony, Sir Henry Russell requested me to attend in his apartments as one of his Establishment. I of course did so, being accompanied by Mr. Ewer, Mr. Chinnery, and Mr. Henry Russell, the two last named, especially Mr. Henry Russell, being excellent Persian scholars.

We four went to the bottom of the principal staircase to receive and conduct the Ambassador up. He came in great state, being attended by a number of elephants, camels, horses, and several hundred servants. Having embraced Sir Henry Russell, he took a seat upon his right hand, where, through the medium of his interpreter, Mr. Smith (a son of Mrs. Charlotte Smith, author of several popular novels), he conversed for upwards of half an hour, after which he partook of some refreshments, consisting of coffee, various sorts of sweetmeats, and fruits. He then went to view the Court Room and other apartments, appearing particularly pleased at Sir Henry's picture by Chinnery, respecting the execution of which as well as of the mode of administering justice in British Courts he asked many shrewd and pertinent questions, and was much struck at some circumstances relative to the latter. He appeared to be quite delighted with Mr. Henry Russell, whom he complimented highly upon speaking Persian with fluency and elegance, and to whom he gave a very pressing invitation to visit Persia, promising if he did so that he would shew him all the rarities of that country, and would also have the honour of introducing him to the Persian monarch.

The following morning the same party accompanied the Chief Justice upon his returning the Ambassador's visit,

when we were all most graciously received by His Excellency, each of us being honoured by an Asiatic embrace, as we also were by his principal officers of state. The Ambassador was a noble-looking man with a very expressive and fine countenance. I rather think it was the same person who was lately sent Ambassador to England and who resided during several months in London.

On the 17th of September Lord Minto arrived on board the *Modeste*, frigate, which ship was commanded by Captain Elliot, a son of his Lordship's. The next morning his Lordship came to the Court House, to return the Chief Justice's visit, he (Lord Minto) having been intimately acquainted with Lord Whitworth and other branches of Lady Russell's family in England. While Lord Minto was at Sir Henry Russell's apartments he enquired who lived in the handsome house opposite, to which Sir Henry replied, "A very particular friend of mine, Mr. William Hickey, who is likewise my Clerk, and an Attorney of the Supreme Court." Whereupon Lord Minto observed, "Mr. Hickey is a gentleman I much want to see, having a message to deliver from one of his sisters and from Mrs. Burke."

Sir Henry Russell immediately sent over for me, when I was received in the kindest manner by Lord Minto, who told me Mrs. Burke and my sister Ann were the two last ladies he had shaken hands with in England, he having stopped at Beaconsfield, by which road, although somewhat circuitous, he had set off for Portsmouth, in order to take leave of his old and greatly esteemed friend Mrs. Burke. His Lordship then good-humouredly observed he had not forgotten our being playfellows at Twickenham, when boys of about ten years of age, at which town both our fathers had country houses; neither had he forgotten my trundling him out of a wheel-barrow into a hole several feet deep, and at the time not in the most cleanly state. After an hour's agreeable chat, when about to take leave, he invited me to accompany Sir Henry Russell who he said had kindly promised to take a family dinner with him at the Government House the following day. I accordingly went with

the Chief Justice, when there being no other stranger present, Sir Henry Russell was placed upon his Lordship's right hand, and myself on his left.

Lord Minto's family then consisted of Mr. Moir, his private Secretary, Colonel Eden, Quartermaster-General of the King's troops, Captains Stewart and Taylor, aides-de-camp, Captain Elliot, of the *Modeste*, and a younger son who was upon the Madras Civil Establishment, but came round to Bengal with his father to act as Secretary (the last-mentioned young gentleman seemed to me to be one of the most pert, assuming, and forward coxcombs I ever saw), a still younger son of about thirteen, then a Midshipman on board his brother's frigate, two lads, *protégés* of his Lordship, both writers in the Company's Service on the Bengal Establishment, who came out with him in the *Modeste*, and a distant relation of his named Whalley, to whom he had also given a passage and who, as I afterwards understood, had been brought up to the Law. Mr. Whalley did not enter the room until we had been at table some minutes, but a vacant chair being left next to me his Lordship pointed it out to him and he seated himself therein, previously making me a very respectful bow. His manner also was particularly so to me whenever I spoke to him, which I did several times upon indifferent and common topics during our meal.

Upon rising from the dining-table, the party walked up and down the room waiting the arrival of coffee, during which time Mr. Whalley stuck close to me. I was giving him some account of the different pictures that hung in the room and who the persons represented by the portraits were. Upon my naming Sir Elijah Impey as one of them, and that he was the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, he observed that his father had been very intimate with Sir Elijah, and that it was principally upon his advice that he had been bred to the Law, which profession he intended to pursue in Calcutta. He then spoke in very grateful terms of the handsome reception he had met with from the Chief Justice, Sir Henry Russell, upon whom he had called

that morning, to which I remarked he would find Sir John Royds, another of the Judges, equally affable and pleasant as Sir Henry Russell. This produced marks of his being a good deal surprized, and he immediately said, "I thought, sir, that for the last two hours I had the honour of addressing myself to Sir John Royds." I set him right on that head by informing him that so far from my being a Judge, I was nothing more than a very humble Attorney. Just at that moment Lord Minto joined us, and addressing Mr. Whalley said, "I am glad to see you have got over the neglect I have been guilty of, Whalley, in omitting to introduce you to my old acquaintance, Mr. Hickey, who holds some posts of consequence in the Supreme Court, and is well qualified to give you information respecting the measures that will be necessary for you to pursue, in order to your becoming a member of the same Court, and which I hope he will have the goodness to do."

I afterwards discovered that Mr. Whalley's imagining me to be a Judge arose from Lord Minto's having in the morning of that day, while sitting at breakfast, desired him not to accept an invitation to dine abroad that day as the Chief Justice and another officer of the Supreme Court were to take their dinner at the Government House, and he should take that opportunity of introducing him (Mr. Whalley) to them both. From his not being dressed until a few minutes after the company were seated at the dinner table, this ceremony did not take place. As Mr. Whalley heard some of the gentlemen present call Sir Henry Russell by his name, he knew him to be the Chief Justice, and took it into his head to conclude that the other stranger was Sir John Royds, under which impression it was that he conducted himself with such profound respect towards me. Mr. Whalley, in consequence of his connection with and being patronized by the Right Honourable Governor-General was immediately admitted as an Attorney of our Court, and subsequently succeeded me in the situation of Clerk to the Chief Justice. Not, however, being a person possessed of brilliant talents, or having much knowledge in

his possession, he did not cut a conspicuous figure, and about three years after my leaving India he fell a martyr to the climate, dying insolvent, leaving a wife and several children wholly unprovided for.

Lord Minto had scarcely got settled in his chair as Governor-General when an account arrived of the change of Administration at home, and as all his Lordship's friends thereupon lost their situations, and went out of power, it was confidently expected that he would forthwith be superseded by another Governor-General selected from the new Ministers' adherents. But no such event occurred, and he was suffered quietly to remain.

Lord Minto brought out with him the insignia of the Order of the Bath for Sir George Barlow, with authority from His Majesty to invest the *ci-devant* silk mercer therewith, which ceremony his Lordship, in a few days after his arrival, performed in a very dignified manner. After placing the ribbon over his shoulder, he addressed Sir George Barlow in a very elegant, complimentary speech, in the course of which he observed that it had been his good fortune to have had the honour of representing His Most Gracious Sovereign upon several different occasions and in various quarters of the world, but upon no one of those occasions had he felt so much gratification as upon the present, when he had to confer so high an honour upon such transcendent merit! So much for courtly language and for courtly sincerity.

Captain Colnett visited me daily, generally spending two or three hours every morning playing billiards at my table, which was an excellent one, made by the famous Seddons.

As the time approached for my departure my spirits became depressed to the greatest degree; I frequently regretted that I had ever thought of returning to Europe; a thousand unpleasant ideas entered my mind. True it was that my health had seriously declined, but then it was very probable that so important a change of climate as that from Asia to Europe might not mend it; besides, I was about to quit a country wherein every wish was in a great measure

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anticipated by being gratified before announced, arising from my having a multitude of servants, most of whom had lived with me upwards of twenty years, and who from being perfectly well-acquainted with all my habits, prepared everything I wanted without any order whatsoever. Another source of considerable uneasiness to me was the thought of leaving such a number of persons as depended upon me in some measure destitute: for to render them independent was entirely out of my power, and to find good masters for them not very easy; indeed, many of them did not scruple to declare they never should be able to stay with any common person after living so long with such an indulgent master as I had been. I likewise felt the dreadful change I was myself about to undergo, from a house and establishment wherein not only every comfort but every luxury prevailed, to a little dirty hole of a cabin on board a ship; in fact, this idea often made me think I never should be able to endure it, but should fall a sacrifice to the alteration in the mode of living. My friends who perceived how much I was affected, said and did everything they could to encourage me; Captain Colnett in particular exerted himself to keep up my spirits, by observing that we might reasonably expect a fine fair weather passage as we should probably sail from Bengal by the middle of January, which was the best time of the year.

On the 26th of November Lord Minto despatched the ship *General Stewart* as a packet to Europe, which afforded me an opportunity of writing to my family to inform them that I had taken my passage on board the *Castle Eden*, and to desire they would look out for the arrival of that ship in the month of July or August, then next ensuing, as if ever I reached England it would be on board that vessel.

On the 20th of December I went out of office as Under-Sheriff and was succeeded by Mr. James Taylor, who had been appointed by his bosom friend and brother scoundrel, Sir William Burroughs, Mr. William Fairlie being the principal or Sheriff, for as by the rule of the Court no Attorney could officiate as Sheriff, it became requisite to

find an ostensible person who would lend his name and relinquish the emoluments of the office. This Mr. Fairlie did in favour of his Deputy or Under-Sheriff, the immaculate James Taylor, the said James Taylor having first agreed amply to indemnify Mr. Fairlie from all the consequences of his accepting the Shrievalty and for so lending his name.

The day after I had assigned over the prisoners and the office to Mr. Fairlie as Sheriff, I received the following letter from Mr. Adam Gordon, the head Jailer :

“ To William Hickey, Esq. :

“ SIR,

Impressed with a high sense of gratitude, respect, and duty I avail myself with pleasure of this opportunity to render my most grateful and sincere thanks for the unremitting kindness, favour and civility I have experienced from you during a period of thirteen years that I have had the honour and good fortune to serve under your well-known humane eye and immediate patronage, and I humbly hope that in my endeavour worthily to discharge the duties entrusted to me I may have merited your approbation, and in the continuation of which to the satisfaction of your successor I trust to ensure from him the same degree of protection and kindness that it has been my pride and my happiness to experience from you. Permit me, Sir, as you are about to embark soon for Europe, to wish you from the bottom of my heart a pleasant and speedy voyage and safe arrival in your native land, where that you may long live to enjoy every happiness and blessing of life shall ever be the fervent prayer of, Sir, with the most profound respect,

Your greatly obliged, most obedient and dutiful servant,

ADAM GORDON, Jailer.

CALOUTTA GAOL,

21st December, 1807.”

To this letter I returned the following answer :

“ SIR,

“ To Mr. Adam Gordon, Gaoler.

I was duly favoured with your letter of the 21st instant, which urgent and pressing business prevented my earlier answering. It is not only a duty I owe to you but a very great

satisfaction to myself to declare that during the long period I have known you I have had every reason to be most perfectly satisfied with your public and private conduct as Keeper of the Gaol of Caloutta, and I have always considered the different Sheriffs under whom I have served, as well as myself, peculiarly fortunate in having so humane and respectable a person as yourself in a situation from its nature requiring much forbearance and much command of temper. Such conduct as yours has been must, and ever will command the entire approbation of whoever you may act under. I return my best thanks for your good wishes towards me, and am with esteem, Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

CALOUTTA,

W. HICKEY.

28th December, 1807."

At the same time that I received Mr. Gordon's letter I got one to the same effect from Mr. David Wilson, the Deputy-Gaoler, who, as well as his principal, Gordon, was a very respectable man, to which I gave a similar answer to that I sent Gordon, and of which he was equally deserving.

CHAPTER XXI

1808

THE RICE ORDEAL. FAREWELL LETTERS AND GIFTS.
SELLING UP. CHINNERY'S PICTURE OF SIR
HENRY RUSSELL

ON the 1st of *January*, 1808, I had in my iron chest, to the amount of one lac and twenty-two thousand sicca rupees in Company's paper, but as I was aware that I was indebted to some persons that had not yet furnished me with the particulars of their claims, although frequently applied for, and had also various small sums due to me which it would be impossible for me to call in prior to my departure, it became necessary for me to think of some capable person who would take the trouble of acting for me in my absence. After mature consideration no one appeared to me so fit as Mr. Donald Macnabb, one of the Attornies of the Supreme Court, who was universally esteemed to be a very honourable and industrious man. This gentleman, having been nominated as Executor to the last Will and Testament of Sir Robert Chambers, formerly Chief Justice, and being also appointed Agent for Lady Chambers, the widow, had for the last four years every month received from me the rent of the house I inhabited, and he often remarked what an excellent tenant I was, not only from the complete repair I kept the premises in, but from the extraordinary regularity of my payments, as I always made it a rule to send the rent on the first of every month. To Mr. Macnabb then I applied by letter to request he would have the goodness to undertake the management

of my little concerns after my departure from Bengal, who thereupon wrote to me in the following terms :

“MY DEAR SIR,

Your good opinion is, I do assure you, very flattering and very gratifying to me, who consider myself highly honoured by it. I shall at all times and upon every occasion feel truly happy to render you any services within my power.

Being, my dear Sir, most faithfully and sincerely yours,

D. MACNABB.

9 *January*, 1808.”

Having had made four large and strong oak-wood chests, a bureau with writing desk and apparatus attached to it, a capital cot for sleeping on, a table, and a few other articles of furniture for my cabin, by a European carpenter, having also provided an immense stock of linen of every description, and purchased a chest of claret and another of madeira of a very superior quality, I determined to take a trip down to the ship with my baggage and arrange the same in proper order in my cabin so as to make it quite ready for my sleeping in it. A young friend of mine, Mr. Robert Moseley Thomas, whom it had been in my power materially to serve by getting Sir John Royds to appoint him his clerk, and also by introducing him to the patronage and protection of Sir Henry Russell, promised to accompany me. Captain Colnett had likewise signified a desire to make one of the little party, which was fixed for the tenth of the month, but it so happened that on the preceding night I had one of my severe and disagreeable attacks of spasms in my stomach, which put it out of my power to leave my bedchamber. I therefore resolved to send a Bengal servant of mine who had been brought up from an infant in my family, to take charge of the whole of my baggage and see the same safely on board the *Castle Eden*. This lad's name was Chaund, a fine, smart, active youth about eighteen years of age, who when a little boy had been a spoiled pet of mine ; in fact, I had to upbraid myself with ruining him by a mistaken indulgence, dressing him up

fantastically, and he was well disposed to be a coxcomb, besides which, from his interesting appearance and cleverness, he became a favourite with all my friends, who were constantly laughing and joking with him.

When only thirteen Chaund was in the constant habit of robbing me, coming up to my bedchamber when I was fast asleep, taking the keys of my writing-table drawer from my pocket, going down to my study, opening the same and taking thereout one, two, three, or four gold mohurs at a time, then returning up stairs and replacing the key in my waistcoat pocket. This mode of robbery he practised successfully for several months before I discovered or even suspected anything of the kind. But at last thinking my cash sometimes disappeared very unaccountably, and much faster than it ought, I made a memorandum of the sum deposited, and frequently in the morning found less than I had left in the drawer the preceding evening. Still, I had not the most distant suspicion of my favourite Chaund's being the purloiner, until happening to mention the circumstance of my money's thus strangely disappearing to my old writer Ramdone Ghose, he told me that the Consumah had lately remarked to him that the boy Chaund dressed very extravagantly, that he had purchased a watch and other expensive articles such as he was sure his wages would not admit of his obtaining, and he therefore feared he had some improper means of obtaining them.

Upon receiving this information, I forthwith taxed my little Chaund with robbing me by having some unknown access to my drawers. He stoutly denied having anything to do with the robbery or that he knew how or by whom it was accomplished, whereupon I threatened and afterwards actually sent for a conjurer for the purpose of making every servant in the house go through the ordeal practised by those people, which is making all those suspected put a certain quantity of dry rice into their mouths and chew it, during which ceremony the conjurer makes a variety of grimaces and utters with great quickness a jargon of uncouth sounds, by which it generally happens that the real

culprit becomes so terrified he cannot produce the least saliva to moisten the rice and actually discharges it from his mouth ground to a fine powder by his teeth, but perfectly dry, whereupon he is directly pronounced the guilty person by the conjurer, who continuing his incantations and threats of the most dreadful punishments, through the medium of the spirits under his command, unless an immediate confession of the crime is made with an account where the article or articles purloined are deposited, produces the wished for effect by the rogue acknowledging his guilt. This ordeal, however, is not infallible, for I have myself seen an instance of its failure, terror producing the same effect as guilt, the rice coming out of a person's mouth entirely without moisture, whose innocence was nevertheless perfectly established by the real aggressor acknowledging the theft and producing the things stolen. Chaund was so dreadfully alarmed before the conjurer arrived, that he confessed he had taken some gold mohurs from my writing-table drawer at times when I had negligently left the key in it.

Conscious as I was that every Bengallee is by nature a thief, and that if I changed it would only be to get a stranger to rob me instead of one I was used to and who was accustomed to my habits and manners, I determined notwithstanding the above discovery of my little Chaund's knavery that I would not turn him away. He was, however, so frightened at being detected that he voluntarily took himself off, entering himself as servant to the Captain of a country ship just then departing for Bombay. After an absence of about fifteen months, having been backwards and forwards between China and Bombay, he returned to Calcutta, and applied to me, most earnestly entreating of me to take him again, saying he was now fully sensible of the enormity of his former offence, was entirely reformed, and if I forgave him would serve me with fidelity and honesty. Being greatly attached to the lad, I consented to receive him once more, and during three years he acted as my immediate attendant while dressing; after which he

followed my carriage on horseback, being well adapted to such employment, from being a light pretty figure, and riding uncommonly well. Upon my resolving to return to England Chaund requested he might be allowed to accompany me, which I promised and fully intended he should do.

Being, as already mentioned, prevented by illness from going down to the *Castle Eden* to arrange my cabin, the little intended party of course did not take place, but as I had hired a large commodious sloop for which I paid the enormous sum of five hundred sicca rupees, or pounds sterling sixty-two and ten shillings, I determined to despatch Chaund with my baggage, that I might at least secure everything's being on board previous to my embarking. Captain Colnett upon accidentally hearing of my intention, very kindly offered to send a servant of his own, Stephen Gregg, in whom he could place the utmost confidence, to superintend the putting up my cot, fixing the bureau and other articles in my cabin, as well as to stow away the liquors and the water (for I had laid in a stock of thirty dozen of the last mentioned, and which during the voyage proved far more valuable than the wine, being a much scarcer commodity to get good), Captain Colnett assuring me Gregg was an uncommonly clever fellow who would make the most of every vacant inch of room in the cabin, and adjust the furniture therein to the greatest possible advantage. This said Stephen Gregg, my Chaund and another boy of mine, who from the novelty of the thing begged I would give him leave to be of the party, accordingly set off. I had left the entire stock of provisions which had been intended for myself and party on board the vessel, consisting of ham, tongues, turkey pie, sausages, and various other articles of food, with plenty of claret, madeira, cider, perry, beer, brandy, and liqueurs, of which I told Chaund, saying he and his companions might eat the whole of the provisions and drink the cider, perry, beer, and different spirits.

At the end of twelve days, being more than double the time required, the sloop returned to Calcutta, when Gregg called to say he had stowed away the wine as well as the

water in the lockers in my cabin, and had also properly secured the cot, bureau, table, dressing-stand, and other articles of furniture with cleats and lashing, and in every respect put the cabin into the most perfect order ready for my reception. After this report of Gregg's I was much surprized at not seeing or hearing anything of Chaund; I therefore enquired of my servants if they knew the reason of his non-appearance, when they informed me that he had been at the house, but as I was not at home he had gone to see his mother. The Consumah at the very moment that this report had been made to me, came into my office to request I would go with him into a back apartment where the things landed from the sloop were put, to see the state the bedding of the cot was in which I had sent on board for my own use at the time I intended to have gone myself down to the ship, the whole of which I found completely spoiled, a beautiful new chintz palampore, and handsome Europe linen curtains being torn to rags, the sheets, hair mattress, and pillows covered with vomiting and filth and altogether in so beastly a state that I directed them immediately to be thrown away. Equally surprized and disgusted, however, I asked the meaning of so extraordinary an exhibition, when I soon discovered the whole to have originated in Chaund.

I learnt that on the evening of their leaving Calcutta, notwithstanding there was a very fine breeze blowing, with a favourable tide and three hours of daylight remaining, Chaund insisted upon the Serang of the sloop letting go an anchor and bringing to for the night at a place called Fulta, to do which the Serang objected, observing it would be a pity to lose the advantage of so fine a wind and tide, which, if made use of, would carry them full thirty miles lower, and secure to them the certainty of reaching the ship with ease the following day by noon. Chaund, nevertheless, persisted, saying he had his master's orders to stop in order to purchase certain articles of provision for their use, to which Gregg replied that was altogether unnecessary, there being a superabundance of everything that could be wanted

already on board, besides which, what the manglee said ought to be attended to, and it was their duty to get down to the ship with the utmost possible dispatch.

Chaund, finding himself thus unexpectedly and violently opposed, next pretended that he had positive orders from me to stop at Fulta on his way down to the ship to bespeak a number of articles of provisions which I wanted for the voyage, from Messieurs Gamage and Saunders, who kept a house where all those sort of things were prepared for the use of ships, upon which impudent assertion of Chaund's no one made any further objection to stopping, and the sloop was brought to an anchor. Chaund then invited Gregg to go on shore with him and get a girl, which he declined, and Chaund went by himself, but within two hours returned on board attended by *three* whores. Gregg enquiring what he could mean by such conduct which must ruin him with his master if he heard of it, as was most likely to be the case, he laughed at him, observing that his master would not be at all angry about the matter which, however, there was no occasion for him to know anything of. He then added that he had brought three nice girls, one of whom was for himself, one for him (Gregg), and the other for Deenoo—who was only thirteen years of age—and that he had engaged them to go down to the ship and to land them at Fulta on their way back to Calcutta. Gregg again remonstrated, but being in the prime of life and full vigour of health he could not resist the temptation thus offered, and he at last yielded to Chaund's persuasions and example, as he also did to that of participating in the good fare which the profligate Chaund produced. The evening's entertainment concluded with the whole party, male and female, getting abominably drunk, in which state Chaund retired with two of the girls to my bed.

This dissipated conduct was repeated the following and every day during their voyage, except that Gregg, after the first night's debauch, positively and steadily persisted in refusing to partake of any of the wine, or other liquor than beer, and that only in a moderate quantity. Gregg's

moderation and prudence was however thrown away upon Chaund, who with his two lasses continued their excess, consuming the whole stock of wine and everything else that I had laid in. Upon reaching Calcutta he had a sufficient sense of shame after such scandalous behaviour not to appear before me, and concluding that his attending me to England was then quite out of the question, as it most assuredly was, I never saw him more in India.

The foregoing particulars of Chaund's profligacy I first heard from Gregg, and they were fully corroborated by the boy Deenoo, as well as by the Scrang and lascars belonging to the sloop. Thus did I fortunately get rid of a completely worthless fellow, who, had I brought him to England with me, would in all probability have ended his career of infamy at the gallows. In his stead I engaged a remarkably smart, good-tempered boy about thirteen years old named Munnoo, who had then lived with me upwards of four years, without ever being of the least real use, his chief occupation being to make the other servants laugh by his monkey tricks when waiting at table and standing at the back of my chair as he always did; his mother, who doated upon the boy, would not for a long time consent to let him go to Europe, until an offer of five hundred sicca rupees which I made her proved irresistible; she accepted the money and agreed to part with her favourite Munnoo, and a more attached and faithful creature never existed than he has proved to me.

I now learnt from my friend Mr. Brown, the Chief Secretary to Government, that the ships certainly would not be dispatched for Europe earlier than in the first week of February, at which I was truly rejoiced, as it afforded me a better chance of being able to arrange all my little pecuniary concerns. The Mullick cause I recommended to Mr. Donald Macnabb, but he, for some private reasons which he did not communicate, declined having anything to do in it, whereupon the six brothers went to Mr. Thomas Templeton, as did my much-pitied client Walter Ewer, Esquire, who, I lament to add, being unable to discharge

the amount of the heavy decree made against him, surrendered his person and went to gaol, where fretting at his cruel fate soon brought on a malady that terminated his life, an event that was communicated to me in England by a letter from Sir Henry Russell who thus mentioned it :

“ Poor Ewer died in gaol in August last, the malevolence of Smith could not prevent our liberating his corpse. It was removed to Reveley’s house, and buried from thence very respectably. I, and a great many other friends, attended the funeral.”

All those clients over whom I had sufficient influence to persuade them to do as I wished, I recommended to employ Mr. Donald Macnabb, and this I was induced to do from the double motive of being personally attached to him and being satisfied in my own mind that he would do their business with ability and with every justice in his power.

As the time of my departure approached, my friends, European as well as Native, seemed to vie with each other as to who should shew me the greatest kindness. Amongst a variety of presents that were sent to me was a large easy chair intended for my cabin, which John Wilton, Esquire, of Patna, had caused to be made under his own immediate direction, and forwarded to me with an elegant letter in Latin. I likewise received a very beautiful carpet, accompanied with the following note from Mrs. Laprimaudaye, the lady by whom it was worked.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

Pray favour me by accepting and making use of the accompanying carpet, it was begun some months since and intended for a bedside carpet ; I hope you will give it a place in your cabin. It is a very trifling but sincere mark of the gratitude which I shall ever feel towards you. When I began it I did not intend that anyone but myself should set a stitch in it ; I have however from the shortness of the time till your departure been under the necessity of accepting the proffered assistance of our kind inmates, Mrs. Frushard and her charming daughter, and

this I did with the less reluctance as I knew their friendship and regard for my dear Mr. Laprimaudaye makes them sharers in my feelings of gratitude to you.

I remain,

With fervent prayers that every blessing may follow you,

Your grateful

17th January, 1808."

C. C. LAPRIMAUDAYE.

Mr. Thomas, the young gentleman whom I have already spoken of, sent me a very neat gold pencil case, with the words "ex dono amicitiae" engraved upon it, and accompanied by the following note :

"MY DEAR SIR AND BEST FRIEND,

Will you confer one more favour on me who have already received so many and great ones at your hands ? It is to accept the accompanying trifle as an humble token of my gratitude and friendship. Adieu, my inestimable friend. That every happiness and blessing may attend you through life is the ardent and sincere wish of your infinitely obliged and truly grateful

ROBT. M. THOMAS.

17th January, 1808."

Although I had ceased to have anything to do with the Sheriff's office, yet Moiz oo Deen, Tippoo Sultaun's son, still continued almost daily to send messengers to my house to request I would call upon him, which summons I obeyed as frequently as possible. These visits were, however, rendered exceedingly unpleasant to me, from his extreme agitation when I did call and especially as the time of my departure, of which he heard, drew nearer ; he constantly wept and lamented most bitterly, saying, "When you are gone I shall not have a single friend in the universe, not a human creature who will bestow a thought upon me, or care what becomes of me. When you my last, my only refuge forsake me, what can I do ? Nothing but lay myself prostrate on the earth and die."

The last time I saw this unfortunate Prince he was in

utter despair, he threw himself upon the floor, clung to and embraced my feet, most earnestly beseeching that I would take him with me to England, where he would serve me as the humblest of my slaves. In vain did I assure him that however well disposed I might feel to comply with every wish of his, yet was it impracticable to accomplish that of taking him out of the country, as the Governor-General and Council never would permit him to go to Europe. Upon my saying which he seemed very indignant, exclaiming with great vehemence, "And why not? Why am I thus cruelly treated? Will nothing short of my life satisfy the East India Company? After murdering my father, seizing his dominions, and imprisoning in a strange land every branch of his wretched family, am I alone doomed to a more severe punishment than any other, to drag on a miserable existence in a loathsome prison, and this under an infamous pretence, which the members of Government well know to be wholly unfounded and false? I thought the new Governor, Lord Minto, had the character of being a humane, benevolent man who would in mercy have pitied and relieved me from my unmerited sufferings. I was assured that he would do so, but I find it was delusive assurance. Oh, sir! Speak to him, represent my hard case to him, and in my name beseech him to grant me permission to attend you wherever you may go. My wants are few, a little rice and water daily will suffice, I will work for you as well as I can: do all that I am directed to do: I will be your slave!" During this speech he became agitated almost to suffocation, and I was at last obliged to call up Mr. Gordon, the Gaoler, to hold him whilst I left his apartment, promising however that I would see him in a day or two, but I never did call afterwards, as I was conscious it could be of no use and would only occasion him a renewal of his distress and lamentations.

I have lately seen in the public newspapers an account of this truly unfortunate Prince's death in the gaol of Calcutta. He was Tippoo's second son, but at the time of Lord Cornwallis's laying siege to the Mysore capital of

Seringapatam, and withdrawing therefrom upon certain terms proposed and acceded to, Moiz oo Deen was sent to the British Camp as one of the hostages for the due performance of the Treaty by Tippoo Sultaun, and he was then described as being Tippoo's eldest son, when in fact he was the second—another proof how little reliance could be placed on the word of Tippoo. Moiz oo Deen, however, as the supposed eldest son was, together with another boy, called his brother, sent to Madras as hostages, and were detained there until the terms of the treaty were completely fulfilled.

Having addressed a farewell letter to Mr. Jacob Rider, the oldest friend I had in the world, I in a few days after so doing received the following answer :

“ MY DEAR HICKEY,

I received yours of the 29th ultimo on the 5th instant, and most heartily congratulate you upon your being able so soon to leave this detestable country and that you will not stay one year too long as many of our acquaintances have done. I shall certainly have serious reason to regret your departure, and wish if it could be done with propriety that you would make me and my interests over to Sir Henry Russell. I am not seriously ill though frequently ailing, neither have I lost my appetite, but what is nearly as bad the state of my teeth will not admit of my chewing meat, or in fact eating anything more solid than boiled pudding. I am afraid I have not the least chance of being ever able to join you in Old England. Nothing would give me so much pleasure as seeing you as well as my darling child and her little ones comfortably settled in that congenial climate. And I sincerely wish whenever she does go that it may be her good fortune to settle at no great distance from you, for she will want such friendly advice as you will be able and ready to give her. I was sorry to have occasion to write so much out of humour as I lately did about the girls that are with me. If they had a little more consideration for the infirmities of old age, we must have agreed together, for I am naturally inclined to give every indulgence to young persons at their time of life.

My deafness has been a source of great torment to me. I see these young folks full of mirth and can hear them about me in

a roar of laughter, yet neither of them have the kindness and affection to let me be a partaker by communicating the occasion of their merriment, and I am, in fact, kept altogether in the basket, never feeling myself at home notwithstanding I am in my own house. This to me is living a most miserable life, instead of being so contented and happy as I expected from their society, and certainly should have been had they thought proper to give me their unrestrained confidence.

I don't know how you may find it, but to me the manners of young people of both sexes is now most unpleasantly and provokingly self-sufficient, no respect whatever for parents, nor for age, and to hear their language one would be led to suppose them exclusively possessed of all the knowledge, talents, and ability human nature is susceptible of acquiring, and much of which you and I have but just attained.

You may expect to sail early in February, though I scarcely ever knew a *Fleet* or even a single ship go within fifteen days of the time first allotted. So that, my dear old companion, you are still in good time for me to get anything down to you by Bangeys, and you cannot oblige me more than by letting me know what I can send you that will be most acceptable and which when you do shall be dispatched by the return of Dawk. I wish I could have been at your outcry (auction) that I might have purchased something to have used in remembrance of so good, so old, and so esteemed a friend, if it was only a favourite chair, or a shaving box which, by the by, I remember in former times you used to sport in a very tasty style.

If it was worth while to trouble you with any commissions one should be to send me out a couple of capital razors, in a red or green morocco case, with a pair of Savigny or some equally famous outler's nail nippers.

May your voyage to our native soil be attended with a perfect restoration to health, and may you enjoy a happy meeting with the twin sisters, whom I should greatly rejoice to see also. Farewell.

Believe me, ever most faithfully and affectionately yours,

January 15th, 1808."

JACOB RIDER.

This respectable friend is likewise gone to that bourn from whence no traveller returns, having died at Ghazeepore

in the month of September, 1808, which unfortunate event came to my knowledge in the most awkward and unpleasant manner. The daughter whom in the foregoing letter he calls his "darling child" was Mrs. Birch, the widow of Richard Comyns Birch, Esquire, of Calcutta. This lady and her numerous family of children, upon the death of her husband, returned to England, which as soon as I heard of I called to pay my respects and offer my congratulations upon her safe arrival. After some general conversation, I began to speak of her father, whom I hoped she had left in perfect health, whereupon she burst into tears, but in a few minutes, recovering herself, she told me of his death.

On the 26th of January I wrote to Sir Henry Russell to request he would admit my young friend, Mr. Thomas, an Attorney, he having nearly served his Clerkship to Mr. Raban, and being every way duly qualified, which Sir Henry Russell promised he would do the first opportunity.

The 9th of February being appointed for the dispatch of the Fleet I fixed upon the 5th for the sale of my furniture, plate, carriages, horses, books, etc., Mr. Robert Ledlie having kindly invited me to reside with him the last week of my stay. As the day of my departure approached I became more affected than I had any idea I should have been. The thought of leaving a place I had resided in for so many years, the number of persons I was sincerely attached to that were in it, added to the melancholy and desponding countenances of my favourite servants, who now for the first time began seriously to apprehend I should quit Bengal, all contributed to increase my dejection and gloom. I had a favourite terrier dog called Tiger, who seemed to understand that something extraordinary was on foot and appeared as melancholy as myself. This faithful creature, Captain Colnett, meaning to be particularly civil thereby, offered to receive on board the *Castile Eden* and to have him lodged upon the poop, it being a rule in his ship, which he had never swerved from, upon no account to admit of dogs being between decks. But to treat such a

pet, as my poor Tiger always had been, so unkindly as to tie him up at all, but especially in such a part of the vessel as the poop, where he must unavoidably be exposed to all kinds of weather, I could not consent to ; I therefore declined Captain Colnett's well-meant offer, securing for Tiger a kind and affectionate master in my friend Mr. Thomas, who undertook the care of him. During the last three days the animal never would quit my side for a moment. He, in fact, did everything to express his sorrow except speak, and his piteous looks and cries occasioned me many a real pang.

On the morning of the 5th I took a long and last farewell of my delightful mansion, and went to Mr. Ledlie's house, which was charmingly situated upon the Esplanade, and not more than two hundred yards distant from my own. In a few hours after I thus became his guest, I received the following curious epistle from my Bengal clerk, Ramdone Ghose, who had been in my employ ever since my return to India in the year 1783. The whimsicality of the phraseology makes me insert it.

“HONOURED SIR,

With humble submission I beg leave to entreat your honour's benignity, and hope you will plead my Appology, that as you are exiting from hence, I feel myself hurted to the very bottom of my breast, as loosing a fatherly gentleman, and is no idia of having such protector as your benevolence indulged me, however praised be God for it, and wishing your safe voyage, and may the mercy of God united with you. But one favour more I have to request of you and hope you will comply with my beseechment, that as my being embarrassed to Gourchurn Day which frightened me out of all limitations, and I see no remedy of getting reed of him, whereas I humbly entreat your unbounded bountiful honour to relieve me from that perishable situation, and if my fortunate stars bestows me I will be engaged here, or else I must fly with precipitance unenumerated to Benaras and that my present oircumstances is helpless, unforgiving and forlorn. What then remains poor ruined pilgrimage, but that, I may be granted some alms for my dreary

journey, and for which act the providence will prolong your long life and perpetuating prosperity, etc.

Honoured Sir, your most obedient and humble sorvant, Ramdone Ghose, your poor miserable writer."

This precious morsel of eloquence cost me eighteen hundred sicca rupees, as I was thereby induced not only to clear off the debt he alluded to as due to Gourchurn Day, but likewise to make him a considerable present in cash for himself, which I bestowed with hearty good-will, for he had proved himself during many years' trial a faithful, trusty, and honest servant.

We had for some months prior to the time I am now speaking of an artist of eminent talents in Calcutta, Mr. George Chinnery, who had come round to Bengal from Madras, upon special summons, for the purpose of painting the portrait of Sir Henry Russell, which several of the principal natives of the Settlement had by an elegant address in the Persian language entreated him to sit for, that it might be exhibited in the Town Hall, a splendid building then in a considerable degree of forwardness. I do not know that I can do better than give the account and character of this work, as it appeared in a daily paper called the *Mirror* at that time published in Calcutta.

"On Wednesday last, the 6th current, the picture of the Honourable Sir Henry Russell, Knight, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal, executed by Mr. Chinnery by desire of and at the expence of the principal Native Inhabitants of Calcutta, was opened for public inspection, and placed in its situation in the Court House previous to its ultimate destination in the Town Hall now erecting.

A work performed on so particular an occasion cannot have failed to excite a high degree of public interest. It is at once a tribute to the worth and uprightness of the subject whom it commemorates, who fills the important duties delegated to him with such distinguished propriety, and a grateful acknowledgment of the blessings which the people of these Provinces under the protection of the British Legislature, enjoy, by the pure and efficient administration of Justice—the greatest blessing that

any Government can bestow. The feelings and best interests of Englishmen in India are connected with a subject which embraces such great objects.

As a description of the picture may be acceptable, particularly to those of our readers whose absence from the Presidency prevents the opportunity of seeing it, we subjoin the annexed account. The picture is considerably larger than the whole-length size, the Chief Justice is seated in the full dress robes of his office, the head and whole figure entirely fronting the spectator. At his right hand upon the platform, upon which his seat is raised, are placed the sword and mace, together with the patent of office to which the Great Seal of England appears attached. To his left on the table upon which he is leaning, are a variety of papers and implements for writing. The Hall of Justice is a circular apartment of the Corinthian order; in a niche between the fluted pilasters is the statue of three figures, representing Justice protecting Innocence. In the panel under this statue are the Fasces and Civic wreath connected in one ornament, the former indicating the authority of the Magistrate, the latter as an emblem of this public testimony of his character."

The picture did Mr. Chinnery infinite credit as an artist and must prove his genius so long as a particle of the canvas remains.

Mr. Chinnery, like many other men of extraordinary talent, was extremely odd and eccentric, so much so as at times to make me think him deranged. His health certainly was not good; and he had a strong tendency to hypochondria which frequently made him ridiculously fanciful, yet in spite of his mental and bodily infirmities, personal vanity shewed itself in various ways. When not under the influence of low spirits, he was a cheerful pleasant companion, but if hypochondriacal was melancholy and dejected to the greatest degree. As he had come to Bengal at the particular desire of some of Sir Henry Russell's friends for the express purpose of carrying into execution the work above mentioned, the Chief Justice thought it incumbent upon him to receive him (Mr. Chinnery) as his guest. He therefore allotted to his exclusive use two handsome apartments, and of course considered him one of the

family, a cover always being laid for him at the dinner table.

Mr. Chinnery was pleased to shew a very flattering partiality towards me, he also did me the honour to consult me upon various points, especially respecting the composition of the intended picture, relative to which he shewed me several different sketches upon paper, appearing himself partial to the one he carried into effect, which as it likewise happened to please me above all the rest was particularly gratifying to him. It being the middle of a vacation he commenced and executed the work in the Court room, where I generally passed two or three hours daily in observing the progress he made, which was a source of great entertainment to me. Notwithstanding he laboured incessantly, being generally at work from sunrise until sunset, it took him near three months ere the picture was completed, he being twice during that period obliged to lay it by for several days on account of severe indisposition. Having at last completed it, I was one morning admiring the production, at which he appeared greatly delighted, and after saying how much he was gratified by my approbation, he observed that it was in my power to confer a very singular favour upon him. This I assured him I should most willingly do. He then told me it was to sit for my picture, which he should feel peculiar pleasure in painting, and when done, presenting to Sir Henry Russell, who he saw was so sincerely attached to me, as a small token of his gratitude for the honour that had been conferred by calling him from a distant Settlement to execute a work that he trusted would not discredit him as a young artist. Although I had a very great dislike to the ceremony of sitting I did not think I could with propriety refuse. I therefore submitted, and a very capital likeness he produced, which now occupies a corner in Sir Henry Russell's dining-room in the Court House of Calcutta.

Mr. Chinnery being desirous of having an engraving of this very famous picture of the Chief Justice made, provided he could obtain two hundred subscribers, which number

would fully reimburse him the expence attending the execution thereof, I ventured to assure him there would be no difficulty in effecting that object, as I had the vanity to think I could command at least half the requisite number amongst my own immediate friends. Nor was I mistaken in this idea. I put about a paper headed with my own name for three copies, at three gold mohurs each copy, and soon got one hundred and seven subscribers, several of whom, like myself, paid the amount upon writing their names, which I forthwith handed over to Mr. Chinnery, who in consequence thereof directly commenced a small copy of the original work, from which the engraving was to be executed, and which I was to take charge of and convey to the engraver in England. This small picture he had very nearly completed, in a style no way inferior to the large work, when he was attacked by so severe an inflammation in his eyes, as totally to incapacitate him from using a pencil, and during the remainder of my stay in Bengal he was obliged to shut himself up, excluding almost every ray of light from his chamber, his spirits being so depressed he would not admit Sir Henry Russell or any friend whomsoever ; in which melancholy state I left him.

I have lately heard that soon after my departure from Calcutta Mr. Chinnery became determinedly insane, and has ever since been kept under restriction, being now pronounced a confirmed and incurable lunatic. One of the last things he did previous to this dreadful affliction, was the packing up the portraits of my friends for me which I intended taking to England, and which having done he sent to me with the following note :

“ DEAR SIR, “ William Hickey, Esquire,

I should have done myself the pleasure of sending you your pictures properly rolled and packed before now, but that really and truly the small painting from which the engraving is to be made, has occupied every moment of my time. Indeed for the last week I have been seriously indisposed with violent cough and pain in my face, and as if Hygrin had some spite

against me I no sooner got rid of violent toothache by retraction, but my right eye is materially affected by the cold, so much so that were not the ships upon the eve of sailing I should lay myself up entirely, and as it is, am by no means sure I shall not be obliged to do so to my grievous inconvenience and loss.

You will find the warm cloth and tin case an effectual security. The pictures are rolled on a hollow cylinder, and between each is put a piece of green silk to prevent their sticking to each other. You will be careful to have them gently warmed by a fire as you unroll them. In rolling them they were each made properly pliable by a regular heat. The picture you wished to bestow most attention to is the last rolled, in order that the circle might be the greatest, and of course the less chance of injury by rubbing or otherwise. All this puts you to some expence; the silk cost me thirty-eight rupees and a half, and the tin case sixteen, making together sicca rupees fifty-four and a half.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your much obliged and faithful humble servant,

GEO CHINNERY.

6th February, 1808."

The occasion of Sir Henry Russell's picture being executed, contrasted with that of his predecessor in office, Sir John Anstruther, was as flattering to the one as it was disgraceful to the other, Sir John Anstruther having done everything but actually ask for the compliment and it was carried into effect by a few interested men, whereas that of Sir Henry Russell was the spontaneous act of the principal and most respectable native inhabitants of Calcutta, who had discernment enough to perceive that Sir John Anstruther was an intriguing political character, almost always influenced by some interested or disgraceful motive, extending even to his judicial decisions, whereas Sir Henry Russell was universally admitted to be the pure, immaculate, and unprejudiced dispenser of British Jurisprudence, in whom no bias, no other consideration than an earnest desire to fulfil the important duties of the high station he was in, with propriety, and moderation ever operated.

The particular circumstances attending Sir John Anstruther's portrait were these. He had frequently made known

to his hangers-on and immediate dependents (of which, however, he had not many, being from his general hauteur and insolence of manners exceedingly unpopular) how gratifying it would be to him to receive some compliment in the way of address or demand of his portrait, previous to his leaving India, in consequence of which repeated intimation, three or four of his sycophantic admirers sounded the dispositions of the Settlement upon the subject, when meeting either with a cold reception or flat and coarse negative, especially from the natives of rank and opulence, the matter dropped, and nothing effectual was done until the December Sessions previous to his, Sir John Anstruther's, departure for England, at which Sessions it was Sir John Royds's turn to deliver the charge to the Grand Jury, but Sir John Anstruther requested that he might be allowed to deliver it, as it would be the last opportunity he should have of addressing so respectable a body of the British inhabitants as the Grand Juries always consisted of. This desire being conceded to him, he, on the 4th of December, made one of the most disgustingly fulsome speeches that ever was uttered, in which, contrary to his usual insolence and contemptuous way of treating the gentlemen of the Grand Jury, he bespattered them with the most high-flown compliments that could be uttered, declaring "that the inflexible integrity and exemplary conduct of the British inhabitants of Calcutta, amongst whom he had for the last seven years had the honour and happiness to reside and to fill the highest judicial situation, had afforded him such heartfelt satisfaction that he should, whilst the blood continued to flow through his veins, think of them with the utmost veneration and respect, and should quit their society with inexpressible regret."

During Sir John's harangue he carried the burlesque so far as to affect twice or thrice being unable to proceed, overcome as it were by the excess of his sensibility and acute feelings : putting his pocket-handkerchief to his eyes as if dissolved in tears ! This mummary, however, produced the intended effect. The Grand Jury, retiring to their

room, the Foreman, William Fairlie, Esquire, proposed an address expressive of their gratitude, for the steady interest Sir John Anstruther had shewn in the success and welfare of the Settlement during his residence in it, likewise for his upright conduct in the administration of justice, etc. etc. This proposition was violently opposed by several of the gentlemen present, who pronounced Sir John Anstruther altogether unworthy of any compliment whatsoever, his conduct having invariably been most offensive, tyrannical and insolent, not unfrequently, too, most unjust in his magisterial capacity. After a debate of some hours' continuation, the question for the address was carried, there being seventeen in favour of it, and seven against it.

Mr. Fairlie next proposed that Sir John Anstruther should be requested to sit for his picture, the same when finished to be placed in the Court House. For this only nine gave any vote, and three of those nine declared they would not subscribe a single rupee towards defraying the expence of it, so that the whole expence fell upon six gentlemen. A very laboured adulatory address was then prepared in the names of the Grand Jury in a collective body, as if the vote had been unanimous, which address was presented to Sir John Anstruther the following morning in open Court, but as only seventeen of the Jury attended upon the occasion it was evident to every person present that the remaining six had refused to join in the compliment. In fact, every circumstance that occurred respecting this badly manufactured, ill-judged and undeserved address was generally known throughout the Settlement within twenty-four hours after it occurred, as were the names of each individual who had opposed the measure, and also that only six out of the twenty-three consented to subscribe towards painting the picture. Yet coldly and ungraciously as the point had been brought about, Sir John Anstruther received it, apparently at least, with the highest degree of satisfaction, returned his most gracious acknowledgments for what he modestly termed the unmerited compliments paid him and the expressions of personal attachment to

himself ; he concluded by graciously consenting to sit for his amiable countenance to be put upon canvas and took his leave most pathetically ! Thus ended the ridiculous and disgusting farce. A sign-post whole-length likeness of him in his scarlet cloth robes, executed by Mr. Home, was five weeks afterwards hung up in the Court room ! Oh, what a wretched daub did it appear when in a few months Chinnery's picture of Sir Henry Russell was placed by its side !

CHAPTER XXII

1808

A GENEROUS CREDITOR. CAPITAL AND INCOME.
THE VOYAGE DOWN THE HOOGHLEY. ON BOARD
THE *CASTLE EDEN*

HAVING engaged the same five hundred rupee sloop or rather brig, for she had two masts, that conveyed my baggage from Calcutta to the *Castle Eden*, to carry me down to Saugor roads, where the ship lay, I offered Captain Colnett a passage with me which he gladly accepted, and we resolved to leave town on the 9th, that being the day appointed for the dispatch of the Fleet, so that I had little time left to arrange the various matters of business that still remained unsettled. The Auctioneers who had sold my property, Messrs. Tulloh, Dring and Company, very civilly and for my accommodation agreed to waive their customary right of having a month from the last day's sale to pay over the produce, and to let me have the same immediately, as they knew I was upon the eve of departure. I found the gross amount of the sale was only eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty sicca rupees, a sum less by at least ten thousand rupees than I expected, but most of my furniture sold almost for nothing. A pair of immense-sized looking-glasses, for which I paid between five and six thousand sicca rupees, were knocked down at eight hundred: pictures that cost me more than ten thousand rupees, amongst which were some very capital performances, did not produce twelve hundred rupees, and many other articles sold equally low. The only thing that sold tolerably was my plate, which upon an average went at twenty-

four annas the sicca weight, that is the weight of every sicca rupee which is sixteen annas, sold for twenty-four.

On the 6th of February, Peter Speke, Esquire, many years a member of the Supreme Council, who had always been a zealous and steady friend of mine, called upon me to take leave, when I cordially thanked him for the innumerable favours and kindnesses he had at different times conferred upon me. He told me he should in the course of the day send me a few dozen, being all he had left, of some incomparable fine madeira, being part of a pipe he had intended as a present for the Prime Minister of England, William Pitt, and which pipe was actually on its way from Calcutta to the ship that was to convey it to Europe, when an account of that eminent statesman's death reached India, whereupon the wine was relanded, and Mr. Speke had distributed it in small quantities amongst those friends whom he knew to be judges of madeira, and, added he, "As you, Hickey, are one of the few that have a taste, I rejoice that about six dozen yet remain which will prove very comfortable as a cordial during a cold north-west gale off the Cape of Good Hope."

The same afternoon I received the wine with the following letter :

"GARDEN REACH,

*Thursday, the 6th of February, 1807.*¹

"MY DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure to send you herewith by Ashruff, manglee, in my own boat the half chest of Calcraft's 'famosus et celebrimus,' but I must add that the chest has never been opened since first packed. You will, I hope, find it rare and delicious stuff, though I speak from a recollection of near three years back, except a single mustor bottle which was purposely left out, and in my opinion justifies the high praise bestowed upon it. The madeira is accompanied by the four beautiful views of the new London Docks, which I ought to have sent you long ago but had no proper package for them, and even now they come wrapped up (carefully however) in a Settringer, which be

¹ This obviously should be 1808.—ED.

so good as to let my servants bring back with them, and that will save you the trouble of writing a note.

I am my dear Sir,

with the very best esteem and regard,

yours most sincerely, P. SPEKE."

The same day my host, Mr. Ledlie, told me that Mr. George Tyler had been with him about an hour before to speak relative to a considerable debt due from me to him, amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand sicca rupees, and which ought to be in some manner liquidated previous to my leaving India. This was like a thunderbolt to me, for I did not conceive that I owed him a single pice. True it was I felt conscious that so far back as the year 1785 I had borrowed from him four thousand sicca rupees, and shortly afterwards a further sum of several hundreds, but against which two respective sums I imagined my costs in the two actions brought against Deatker, the Sheriff's officer, the particular circumstances attending which I have hereinbefore set forth, would prove more than a set off, as I had not in either of those cases ever made out a Bill, or as I verily believed, received more than the amount adequate to reimbursing me the fees paid out of pocket to the Counsel employed, and to the different officers of the Court, which idea of mine was strengthened by the very large sums of money paid by Mr. Tyler to my office for business done as Solicitors, during a period of nearly two-and-twenty years after the decisions upon Deatker's causes, without a syllable from Mr. Tyler relative to his having any claim upon me, or giving me the most distant hint as to the propriety of my deducting the amount of his demand from the costs claimed by my office for business done.

To these remarks of mine Mr. Ledlie replied that strange and inconsistent as such a circumstance undoubtedly would have been in any other man than George Tyler, who had upon a thousand occasions shewn a backwardness in urging his own rights, in him it was only his usual course ; that he, however, had in his possession such powerful documents as

must satisfy me that his claim was founded on the strictest justice, and if I pleased, he, Mr. Ledlie, would appoint a meeting for the following morning with Mr. Tyler, whom he would direct to bring his vouchers with him. This meeting did accordingly take place ; when to my utter confusion and dismay Mr. Tyler most indisputably and satisfactorily established that I had received from him as large a sum altogether as my costs could possibly have amounted to, had my bills been regularly made out and delivered.

This fact being established Mr. Ledlie then observed, " But surely, Tyler, it was incumbent upon you to have mentioned this debt to Mr. Turner, Hickey's partner, if you did not choose to do so to himself, as you were fully aware that Turner had the management of all Hickey's pecuniary concerns and more especially so as you made such large payments to Turner for business done on your account for a very long period of time." Mr. Tyler, with his usual philanthropy and peculiar mildness, answered, " I imagined Mr. Hickey would settle with me whenever it suited his convenience so to do, and I therefore conceived it would be both indelicate and improper in me to appear urgent or pressing for payment ; indeed, but for the late extraordinary alteration in the general state of my affairs, chiefly arising from the ill-treatment of the Company, added to the enormous losses I have sustained in my shipping transactions within the last ten years, I never should have thought of demanding a single rupee from Mr. Hickey on this account." Mr. Ledlie thereupon handsomely remarked, " The fact is, my friends, that you are two generous and liberal-minded fellows, both of whom deserve to enjoy unbounded wealth, to which you would do full credit. In this business there has been something to blame on either side. Shall I settle the matter between ye ? " Mr. Tyler and myself in the very same instant earnestly exclaimed, " With all my heart." Mr. Ledlie then continued, " Hickey has continued many years your debtor, Tyler, under a mistaken idea and impression that he had a full and complete set off against your demand upon him, strengthened

in such belief by your total silence. You were bound to have set him right and ought at least to have mentioned the state of the account between Hickey and you, to Turner, when you wore year after year paying him heavy bills of costs. Your neglecting to perform this common piece of justice shall lose you the interest you would otherwise have been entitled to, and Hickey shall pay you the principal he received from you."

Mr. Tyler here interrupted Mr. Ledlie, saying, "That is even more than I expect or desire. Let Mr. Hickey give me four thousand sicca rupees and I shall be perfectly content." To this proposal I objected, observing that after the vouchers that had been produced to me it would be a gross piece of injustice, if not an absolute robbery, not fully to reimburse him the principal, and that I must and should consider myself extremely well off by such an arrangement. After a friendly contest between us the matter terminated by my giving him six thousand two hundred and thirty sicca rupees, which he unwillingly consented to receive; observing, however, that his fortune was so materially altered for the worse that the sum I had just so liberally paid was then of fifty times the consequence to him that it would have been when the loans were advanced to me. He then delivered up my Bond, together with three different promissory notes for lesser sums, and wishing me health and happiness this truly generous and very amiable man and I shook hands and parted.

The 8th and 9th I was busily employed in settling my accounts, and paying off all my old and faithful servants, which was a task that caused me many a bitter pang. The state of my fortune now stood thus: The whole I possessed amounted to sicca rupees one hundred and forty-nine thousand, one hundred and eighty-seven: from which however large drawbacks were to be made and which would reduce it more than one-third. I was obliged to pay five thousand sicca rupees for the repurchase of an annuity I had granted a great many years before, for which at the time of so granting it I received *seven thousand* sicca rupees

and was to pay *one hundred sicca rupees per month during my life* ! This I actually did for so long a period that my payments amounted to upwards of *twenty-one thousand sicca rupees* ! Upon determining to leave India I applied to Mr. Thomas Raban, the Secretary to the Annuitants, to ascertain what they would take for the repurchase, stating the enormous amount I had already paid (and that, too, by the month which made the interest outrageously usurious). At first they refused to treat for anything short of the full seven thousand sicca rupees, but after much correspondence and some threats on my part to have recourse to a Court of Equity, for relief, they *generously* consented to take *five thousand*, which I accordingly paid, and the annuity deeds were thereupon cancelled.

At the time of my departure from Bengal, my finances stood thus :

Gross amount, sicca rupees 149,187

From which deduct :

Repurchase of annuity as above	Sa. Rs.	5,000
Paid Captain Colnett for cabin and passage money		8,000
Do. for wine sent on board		1,235
Do. outfit in clothes, furniture for cabin, etc.		20,800
Do. present to Ramdone Ghose, including his debt to Gourchurn Day		1,800

Distributed to my servants as follows (being 3 months wages to each) :

To 1 Consumah	To 1 Tailor
1 Butler	2 Durwans
8 Kitmutdars	2 Washermen
1 Hairdresser	1 Tinner
2 Aubdars	2 Maters
1 Comprador	1 Dooreea
2 Bakers	4 Sices
2 Cooks	3 Grass Cutters
9 Bearers	1 Coachman
5 Hircarrahs	2 Beestees
3 Mussaulgees	5 Servants of Golaub
4 Maullays	— and Tippee
	63

Making together, sicca rupees 2,000

Paid Mr. George Tyler as hereinbefore stated . . .	6,230
Do. for a house and piece of ground for Golaub, a female servant	3,542
Do., do. for Tippee	1,500
Do. Munnoo's mother on her letting her son attend me to Europe	500
Do. for sloop to convey me to the ship	500
Do. for Bills on England at different dates for £580 . .	4,080
Do. for Dollars to defray expenses at St. Helena, etc.	2,000
Sicca rupees	57,187

leaving me only ninety-two thousand sicca rupees from whence I was to derive my annual income in England, exclusive of the thousand pounds I had remitted to Europe through Mr. Macnaghten, as well as the five hundred and eighty pounds above mentioned, for which amount I purchased Bills of Exchange. The ninety-two thousand rupees I paid into the Company's Treasury in Calcutta under a guarantee of the Government to remit the interest at the rate of eight per cent per annum half-yearly to me in London, and the principal at any time I chose to apply for it at the rate of two and sixpence for each sicca rupee, by Bills upon the Court of Directors at three hundred and sixty-five days sight. The annual interest thus to be paid to me amounted to nine hundred and twenty pounds, which I flattered myself I should be able to manage with, especially as I should have upwards of seventeen hundred pounds in cash to receive upon my arrival.

The 9th I dined with Sir Henry Russell for the last time, and as I knew by experience he had as great an aversion to formal leave-taking as myself, I resolved to depart without that disagreeable ceremony. In the evening of the same day, Captain Thornhill, the Master Attendant, informed me that the dispatches would not go off before the morning of Friday the 12th, which gave me an additional and unexpected day, of which I was right glad, having still many things to do. On the 10th I met my Commander that was to be, Colnett, at Captain Thornhill's, where we dined

together in a large party. Captain Colnett then told me that there having been a recent new order issued by Government, positively directing that all Commanders of vessels in their service should leave town at least twenty-four hours previous to the dispatches being sent from the Bankshall, he must of course obey, and should therefore sleep that night on board a small sailing boat he had hired for the occasion, in which he would the following morning drop down to Fulta, and there wait my joining him, when we would proceed together to Saugor. I had in the afternoon of the 10th sent off the sloop with my consumah, cook and other servants, provisions, etc., to Fulta, there to stay until I came, having borrowed my former fast-rowing twelve-oared paunceway to convey me so far.

By noon of the 11th I had accomplished the parting visit to Sir John Royds, and a few other highly-esteemed friends; at one o'clock I sat down to a magnificent tiffin, which Mr. Ledlie had kindly prepared for me, but my heart was too full to get a morsel down until I had swallowed two or three large glasses of claret, which relieved me from a sensation almost amounting to suffocation, and enabled me to eat a little. At half-past two I went downstairs under pretence of delivering an order to one of my people, and seeing Mr. Ledlie's post-chaise at the door, which I knew had been prepared for my accommodation, I immediately, without any leave-taking, stepped into it and drove off to Mr. Ledlie's garden house, eight miles from Calcutta by land, and nearly double that distance by water, where I embarked in my own old paunceway. I found my little boy Munnoo, my Sirdar bearer, and three other servants on board waiting in readiness for me.

Here I finally bid adieu to the *terra firma* of Bengal. I expected that I should reach the vessel at Fulta by dusk in the evening, the distance from Mr. Ledlie's garden house to that place not being more than twenty-five miles, but a fresh southerly wind springing up in a few minutes after I embarked, raised a short poppling sea, that greatly impeded my progress, so much so that it was between seven and

eight o'clock at night ere I reached it, at which time a fine full moon had just risen. When off the village I was a good deal surprized and alarmed at not seeing anything of my vessel, the manglee of which as well as my own servants I had directed to bring to close to the causeway that led up to the tavern kept by Messieurs Gamage and Saunders, nor was my uneasiness in any degree lessened by learning from a hircarra that I sent on shore to make enquiries that the proprietors of the tavern had not seen anything of such a description of vessel as mine. They said that Captain Colnett had stopped there that afternoon, had ordered a variety of articles of provision, both fresh and salted, to be sent down to the *Castle Eden*, and proceeded himself towards Saugor full three —¹ before. Upon receiving this information I began to think of returning to Calcutta, as going on in my small boat at that season of the year would have been attended with imminent risk, and I had actually ordered the manglee to rig up the mast and prepare the sails for the purpose of running back, at which the whole of my servants were highly delighted, when one of the dandeers of my paunceway said he thought he could distinguish a two-mast vessel laying at anchor far out in the stream. I therefore made them pull in the direction he pointed out, when in five minutes the vessel became visible to us all, proving to be that we were in search of. Upon running alongside of her, I had the further satisfaction to see Captain Colnett sitting upon deck, patiently waiting for me. I thereupon got on board the sloop, dismissing my paunceway and her crew.

The consumah telling me dinner was quite ready it was immediately put upon table, and my companion and I sat down to it while our manglee and his people were busily employed in getting under way as the tide had yet near three hours to ebb. My spirits were quite depressed and sunk, nor could all the kind and good-natured endeavours of Captain Colnett make me rally them. Eating was out of the question, and I had recourse to my old remedy Lol

¹ The word omitted by the author must be "hours."—Ed.

Shrob, though without producing the intended effect. About eleven o'clock at night, the tide being done, we came to an anchor, when Captain Colnett and myself retired to our respective cots. I had not laid my head upon the pillow five minutes when I found by a very loud snoring that my companion had lost no time in the pursuit of the object he sought—sleep; whereas I lay restless, uneasy in mind as in body, and completely miserable. The moment daylight appeared I went upon deck, where I found the people busy in getting up the anchor, it being nearly high water. I never in my life felt so strong an inclination to do a thing as I then did, to direct the manglee to make sail for Calcutta, instead of proceeding downwards for, as a fine breeze blew from the southward, I felt the temptation the greater, and I have no doubt but I should have yielded to the inclination I felt, had not Captain Colnett been with me, and by his good sense prevented my carrying into execution what I certainly very much wished to do.

At half-past seven in the morning Captain Colnett turned out, never in his life, as he declared, having passed a better night. At eight we breakfasted, my chum doing complete justice to the Calcutta bread, butter, and cream. We stood on at the rate of nine knots an hour, the wind having changed a little to the eastward, so as to enable us to stand down one long reach without tacking. By noon we were abreast of Diamond Harbour, when perceiving the Dawk boat coming off, we hove to, when a large parcel of letters was delivered on board our ship. Among the number were the two following which had been forwarded by Mr. Ledlie, to whose house they had been sent after I had left it. One being from Mr. Speke, the other from Mr. Lewin. Mr. Speke's was as follows :

“GARDENS,

11th February, 1808, 3 p.m.

“MY DEAR SIR,

After what I had an opportunity of saying to you in person I should do injustice to my own feelings if I insisted at remonstrating at the more than justice you do to me. I will not there-

fore abate anything for your so liberal and confiding disposition, but frankly acknowledge that it would have been most highly gratifying to me if I could have afforded any portion of that collateral assistance to your pursuits, without which the most respectable character and qualifications too often make but slow progress in India. I shall be very glad if any opportunity occurs of recommending your servant Ramdhun Ghose to some head of office with any effect. I regret that I have no situation at my own disposal.

With the most cordial esteem and good wishes,

I am, my dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend and most obedient humble servant

P SPEKE "

Mr. Lewin's letter was in these words :

" William Hickey, Esq. :

" DEAR HICKEY,

Day rolls over day in such insensible succession, that I have just been surprized by hearing that you leave town at three o'clock. Probably I shall not have an opportunity of breaking in upon you before that hour, and therefore take this mode of offering you my sincere wishes for your making a pleasant voyage, and arriving happily in Old England. In the course of next year I hope again to take you by the hand, and that we shall make a libation together to the memory of past drudgery. In the meantime should there be any little matter here requiring personal attention that I can do for you, it will give me the greatest pleasure to act. I am aware that the numerous well wishers whom you leave behind must almost reduce such an offer from me to a mere wordy compliment, but I beg you to believe that no one who has experienced the kindness of your attentions would more sincerely rejoice in an opportunity of promoting your accommodation and comfort than, dear Hickey,

Yours very truly,

11th February, 1808."

EDWARD B. LEWIN.

" I, of course, don't expect you to trouble yourself to answer this further than by Salam."

Mr. Lewin has not yet fulfilled his intention of returning to Europe, but is still in Calcutta, where he now (December,

1813) fills the situation formerly held by my departed friend, Mr. Robert Ledlie, that of Master in Equity, Accountant-General, and Keeper of the Records in the Supreme Court, Mr. Ledlie having died about two years after I left India.

And now to return to my voyage down the Hooghley. At two o'clock in the afternoon it came on to blow so strong that we could not carry sail, from our vessel not being sufficiently ballasted; we were therefore obliged to come to an anchor. Whilst riding in a chopping ugly sea, which gave us a great deal of disagreeable motion, we observed a number of large pinnaces and other river boats, all which were bound to the different Indiamen with passengers and goods, running back before the wind in order to seek shelter for the night at Diamond Harbour, there being too much wind and sea for them to venture on to Saugor, indeed from the general appearance of the clouds, I began to apprehend a severe gale was approaching. About eight o'clock in the evening, however, the wind subsided, but our vessel still continued to roll and tumble about exceedingly, owing to the heavy swell the strong south-west wind had raised. At ten we retired to our cots, where I again experienced a restless disagreeable night. About midnight our manglee, who was an experienced man, weighed anchor, and dropped down with the tide under jib and mizzen.

At seven in the morning of Saturday the 13th we saw several ships ahead of us, laying at anchor at Kedgerree, one of them bearing a pennant and apparently being a large frigate. We afterwards heard this was His Majesty's ship the *St. Fiorenzo*, that had just come in from Bombay, having eight lacs of dollars on board, belonging to the East India Company. At the time we passed her, three pilot schooners were at anchor close to her waiting for slack water in order to take this money out of her, and convey it up to Calcutta.

At 9 a.m. I could, with Captain Colnett's spying-glass, which was a remarkably good one, plainly distinguish the masts of the ships laying at Saugor; a little before ten

we were obliged once more to anchor on account of the flood tide having set in ; at one in the afternoon, the strength of it having been exhausted, we got under way, soon after which Captain Brown of the Bongal Marine, who was employed under the Master Attendant in despatching the homeward-bound ships, ran close to us, he being in a beautiful little cutter of about eight tons, when he politely offered to receive us on board his vessel, engaging that within two hours we should be alongside the *Castle Eden*, whereas if we remained in what he called "our unwieldy hog trough," we should not reach her that night. We had therefore resolved to accept his proffered conveyance, but just at that moment we saw that the sea constantly broke over her, and that consequently if we went in her we must be wetted, and our mangle assuring us we should be at the *Castle Eden* by seven o'clock at the latest, we changed our determination and stayed where we were, and we had the stronger inducement for so doing by my consumah's telling me he had an excellent dinner ready to bring upon table, in saying which he was strictly correct, Captain Colnett declaring he never saw better things or better drest. We did ample justice to it, for notwithstanding my two sleepless nights and great uneasiness of mind, the keen and refreshing air of the sea had given me an appetite. We washed down our meal with a bottle each of well-cooled claret.

Our mangle who, as I have already said, was uncommonly clever, and managed his vessel with extraordinary skill, was better than his promise, and at half-past five in the afternoon we were at an anchor within half a cable's length of the *Castle Eden*, when the Captain's barge immediately came to put us on board. I certainly did expect a comfortable night's rest in my new habitation, where everything was arranged in perfect order and made as comfortable as possible, yet sleep refused to shed its balmy influence upon me. The comparative smallness of the cabin and bed, the noise of the sea, and the unpleasant smell that always prevails on board ship, kept me awake

until about four in the morning when nature being exhausted I dropped into a sound sleep which continued three hours, and I awoke materially refreshed.

After breakfast I got everything out of the sloop that I intended taking with me, and desired the manglee to prepare for his return to Calcutta. My servants now began to look very dejected, for until that moment they had flattered themselves I should not proceed on the voyage. They saw how melancholy and out of spirits I had been from the time of leaving Mr. Ledlie's; they likewise knew what two miserable nights I had passed in the passage down the river, and heard me remark that I had not closed my eyes until four o'clock in the morning in my first attempt to sleep in the *Castle Eden*, all which circumstances led them to think I never should bring myself to stay on board, and certain it was I felt the strongest inclination that could be to return with them into the river Hooghley.

Captain Colnett, who watched me closely, said and did all in his power to console and encourage me, and as I felt what a folly it would be not to adhere to my resolution after having incurred an expence of upwards of five thousand pounds, I determined to remain where I was. Solicitous, however, to avoid the lamentations of my domestics, which I knew would be the case if I had another interview with them, I requested Captain Colnett to prevent any of them from again coming into my cabin, and that he would get rid of them in the best manner he could. This he accomplished vastly well, pretending the business of the ship was impeded by their stay; besides which they ran the risk of being carried out to sea. He then with a loud voice and affected anger called for the boatswain, whom he ordered instantly to turn every stranger out of the ship as the Company's Surveyor was coming to muster the crew previous to departure.

While this matter was going on upon deck, I looked myself in my cabin with my faithful little Munnoo, and a sad miserable pair we were, our sorrow and distress being greatly increased by a sudden and violent burst of grief

which met our ears and came from my poor servants as they passed under the ship's stern on their way to the sloop. A hearty fit of tears which I could not restrain relieved me much, while the wretched boy, my companion, fixed himself at the quarter gallery window where he sat looking the very image of despair. I thought it best not to say anything to him, so there he remained as long as the vessel that was rapidly conveying his old friends from him was discernible, leaving the poor little fellow in the midst of strangers and in a scene as uncouth as it was novel to him.

At two o'clock Captain Colnett kindly came himself into my cabin to say dinner was upon table and the party only waiting my presence. I begged hard that I might have something sent down to me, but Captain Colnett would not allow any such thing; go up to the cuddy I must and should, and there drink a cheering glass of wine, which he observed would do me more good than moping in a cabin by myself. I therefore complied and benefited greatly by Captain Colnett's advice and prescription.

I was the first of the passengers on board the *Castle Eden*, but in the afternoon Mrs. Walters, an elderly lady, widow of a gentleman high in the Company's Civil Service, who had died in Bengal while she resided in England, she having returned to India in order to try to recover some property of his, reached the ship, having with her a son, then a Captain in the Army, who attended his mother as an escort, and a natural child of his, a boy of about five years of age, whom the old lady had undertaken to convey to England and there to superintend his education.

In the evening I received the following letter from my old friend Mr. Jacob Rider, which Mr. Ledlie had forwarded from Calcutta :

“ CHAZEPORÉ,

February 5th, 1808.

“ MY DEAR HICKEY,

I have just received your farewell letter of the 26th ultimo. I do so envy everybody that can leave this abominable climate, that I cannot withhold my congratulations upon your

being so near getting away. Oh that your means were as ample as you deserve and I ardently wish ; however, the living with two sisters attached to you, as yours are, must prove a treasure to you. Had my daughters been equally so to my interests, and comforts, I should have felt far less regret in being compelled to spend the remainder of my life here. Circumstanced, cruelly circumstanced as I am, I cannot help a longing once more to see poor Old England, and as you ask the question and say "What is to prevent your return to Europe ? Surely no one will molest you, and even should any malignant creditors be so disposed, I think means might be adopted to prevent their doing so with any serious evil to you." Now let me entreat you, my good and long-tried old friend, if you have a leisure hour before your departure to point out what those means are, which you suppose might be successfully adopted so as to prevent my being molested to any serious extent. I wish, my dear Hickey, I could have been at your sale to have purchased some memento to have kept by me as a token of our long and uninterrupted regard for each other ; perhaps the chair you have been accustomed to sit in at your desk would have suited me, you are nearly as fond of your ease in that way as I am. As you were once a famous draughtsman, possibly you may have a useful case of mathematical instruments which you could leave with me, or any book of rare drawings. I wish for everything excellent of this kind for my girls for which they are apparently always thankful.

Mr. Ross lately from Ghazeepore is now in Calcutta, and to be heard of at Tullohs and Company ; this gentleman will take charge of and bring safely up to me any article you have to send me, and as you are not going away from India in circumstances to bestow things gratuitously I will most cheerfully and thankfully send you an order for the amount upon Jack Palmer, if in time, or I will follow you with an order for payment on Cockerell and Company's house in London. I shall be most heartily glad to hear you have had a speedy passage to England and a happy meeting with the twins, and I shall often wish to be amongst ye. God bless you, my good friend. May every good and every happiness attend you is the sincere wish of your old most affectionate and faithful friend,

J. RIDER."

Monday the 15th I still continued wretchedly low and out of spirits. This day Lieutenant-Colonel Owen and Mr. John Gibson, two passengers, came on board. Tuesday the 16th our party was considerably increased by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Todd, Lieutenant-Colonel Eales, Mr. John Shore, a half-caste natural son of Lord Teignmouth's, Major Dawson, Captain Purrier, thentofore commander of a country ship, and Mirza Kaleel, a Mussalman moonshee, going to Europe in the employ of the British Government, as a teacher of Oriental languages at the College established at Hertford. A number of children also arrived who were going to Europe for education. Just as we were sitting down to dinner, His Majesty's ship *St. Fiorenzo*, Captain Harding, passed us at about half a mile distance, firing two shots as she went by at the *Castle Eden* on account of having a pennant flying at our main-top-gallant mast-head as being the Commodore of the Fleet, a paltry mark of vanity and arrogance in Captain Harding much beneath an experienced British officer. Captain Colnett had not hoisted this pennant from any ostentatious motive, but merely for the purpose of pointing out his ship to the passengers and others of the Fleet who might have occasion to address him as the Senior Captain.

Wednesday the 17th Mr. Plowden of the Civil Service passed the *Castle Eden* at sunrise, she being the uppermost ship, proceeding to those that lay lower down, dispatching them in turn. At noon Mr. Rawlins of the Civil Service and two female children of his came on board, as did Mr. Alexander Stewart, a Barrister of the Supreme Court, who had remained in Calcutta to the latest hour in order to bring away with him and convey to England a Memorial addressed by the British Merchants of Bengal to the Lords of the Admiralty upon the subject of the inattention of the Admiral and his Squadron, in not protecting the commerce of England against a parcel of French privateers that ranged uncontrolled throughout the Indian Seas. At a little after 2 p.m. Mr. Plowden and Captain Brown of the Marine returned to the *Castle Eden*, and after dining with us pro-

ceeded to business by mustering the crew, etc., after which the requisite papers were signed, and delivered to Captain Colnett with his sailing orders. At seven in the evening they left us, and heartily glad we all were to get rid of them, as they had been particularly scrupulous and troublesome in executing the forms of dispatching us.

At 8 p.m. Mr. Burgess, the third mate, who had been upon bad terms with his brother officers all the outward-bound passage, got into a dispute upon deck with the fourth mate, upon which occasion making use of every coarse and vulgar language, Mr. Anderson, the chief officer, rebuked him for so doing, whereupon he became exceedingly insolent and abusive, in consequence of which Mr. Anderson ordered him to go to his cabin, an order he indignantly refused to obey, saying it was an assumption of power he (Mr. Anderson) had no right to exercise when Captain Colnett was on board. Mr. Anderson thereupon went into Captain Colnett's cabin to lodge a complaint against the violent behaviour of Mr. Burgess. Captain Colnett immediately went upon deck, and addressing Mr. Burgess, observed his conduct as stated by Mr. Anderson was unofficerlike, and setting a bad example to the ship's crew, in behaving disrespectfully to his superior officer. He therefore hoped that he (Burgess) would apologize for having so far forgot himself. Mr. Burgess, however, declined submitting in any way, alleging that Anderson was a tyrant who had too long been permitted to domineer over every person in the ship, and that he (Burgess) for one would no longer submit to it. Upon this outrageous conduct Captain Colnett ordered him off the deck, telling him he was no longer to consider himself as an officer of the *Castle Eden*, but must confine himself to his cabin and the steerage.

CHAPTER XXIII

1808

HOMeward BOUND. AN ADDRESS TO THE LORDS
OF THE ADMIRALTY. AT POINT DE GALLE WITH
CAPT. BYNG. THE CAPTURE OF THE *PIEDMONTÈSE*

THURSDAY the 18th (February) at 9 a.m. the *Terpsichore*, frigate, commanded by Captain Montague, which ship was appointed to convoy the Fleet through the Bay of Bengal as far as the Island of Ceylon, made the signal for the Fleet to unmoor, which was promptly obeyed by all except three that had sloops alongside from which they were receiving stores. At eleven by another signal, those ships that were ready got under way and stood down about ten miles when the frigate directed them to bring to, to wait for the rest. Friday the 19th the frigate made the signal to weigh anchor, which the whole Fleet did, and we stood out to sea with a very light air of wind from the northward until 5 p.m., at which time it fell calm, continuing so for half an hour; when a breeze set in from the southward, the Fleet worked down about four hours longer, when the flood tide setting in, the signal was made to bring to. We accordingly came to an anchor in five fathoms and an half of water to wait the next ebb. This day at dinner each person took his seat in the station to be retained during the voyage, and we were thus placed—Captain Colnett in the middle of the table, fronting the windows that looked to the quarter-deck, having on his right hand Mrs. Todd, on his left Mrs. Walters, next to whom sat Colonel Eales, then Mr. Shore, Mr. Powell (Surgeon of the ship), Mr. Tyrer (second officer), Mr. Gibson, Colonel Owen, Mr. Rawlins, myself, Mr. Anderson (chief officer), Mr. Todd, Mr. Stewart, Captain Colnett's purser Mr. Purvis, Major Dawson, and Captain

Purrier, making the number of our party seventeen, Mirza Kaleol, the moonshee, preferring to have his daily meals in his own cabin, where he was amply supplied from the cuddy tables. In the night the *Dasher*, sloop of war, joined our Fleet, having come in from sea for that express purpose.

Saturday the 20th, at half-past two a.m. the frigate made the general signal to get under way. At daylight a pleasant breeze from the north-north-west which in two hours carried us out into deep water. At eight o'clock our pilot, Mr. Wright, took leave of us, as did about the same time all the other pilots of the Fleet. By Mr. Wright I addressed a letter to Sir Henry Russell, also to Mr. Ledlie, Mr. Macnabb, and a few other friends in Calcutta, giving but an indifferent account of my health. By nine the breeze had freshened so much that we ran between seven and eight knots. I had the pleasure to see that the *Castle Eden* sailed as well as any of the Indiamen, and better than most of them. Our station was upon the *Terpsichore's* larboard quarter. Our Fleet at this time consisted of His Majesty's ships *Terpsichore* and *Dasher*; the *Castle Eden*, Captain Colnett; *Marquis of Wellesley*, Captain Le Blanc; *Surrey*, Captain Cumberlege; *Lord Duncan*, Captain Bradford; *Lady Castlereagh*, Captain Murray; *City of London*, Captain Yeats; a country merchantman bound to Bombay, and a brig for Botany Bay. The *Castlereagh* proved an intolerably bad sailor. At noon she was hull down astern of the whole Fleet. We were therefore all obliged to shorten sail on her account. At four p.m. the *Dasher* left us, her station for cruising being between the latitude we were then in and the Sandheads of Balasore roads. In the evening the wind died away and it became quite calm.

On the 24th the Quarter Bill was made out, when every person in the ship was stationed either at a great gun or small arms, except those appointed to work the sails, steer, etc., so that in case of the appearance of an enemy each knew his place. We had a strange motley crew, consisting of natives of almost every nation of Europe, besides nine Americans and eighteen Chinese. Certainly we had not

more than ten English seamen on board ; we had moreover eighteen French prisoners, who had been taken in different vessels captured by our ships of war. Of these eighteen French the majority were as desperate and ill-looking rascals as ever I beheld, nor should I have felt at all at my ease with such a set of fellows and such a crew as we had on board, had we been a single ship or sailing without convoy.

The day after the pilot left us Mr. Stewart showed me the Memorial which had been prepared by the British merchants of Calcutta to the Lords of the Admiralty, complaining of the extreme indifference of our men-of-war in suffering French privateers to intercept and capture English merchantmen in every part of the Indian Seas. This Memorial was in the following terms, and accompanied by the following letter :

“ To Alexander Stewart and Michael George Prendergast, Esq. :
GENTLEMEN,

Being appointed a Committee for forwarding the accompanying Memorial from the Merchants, Agents, Underwriters, and Ship owners of Calcutta, to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, respecting the unprotected state of the Maritime Trade of the country against the cruizers of the enemy, and reposing special confidence in your zeal and judgment, we anxiously desire to avail ourselves of the favourable opportunity that presents by your return to England to forward the Memorial under your care, requesting in the name of the Merchants, Agents, Underwriters and Ship owners of Calcutta that you will be pleased to present their Memorial to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

We now therefore entrust the Memorial to your charge, leaving it to your judgment and discretion to effect its presentation in such form and at such time, as to you shall appear best suited to promote the views of the Memorialists. We have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servants,

FAIRLIE GILMORE & Co.

TRAIL PALMER & Co.

HOGUE DAVIDSON & Co.

CALCUTTA,

12th February, 1808.”

“ ADDRESS OF THE MERCHANTS ETC. OF BENGAL TO THE
LORDS OF THE ADMIRALTY¹

“ MEMORIAL of the Merchants, Agents, Ship owners and Underwriters of Calcutta to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—

WE the undersigned, Merchants, Agents, Ship owners and Underwriters of the port of Calcutta most humbly represent to the Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty :

That deeply impressed with a sense of the solicitude uniformly manifested by your Lordships for the protection and advancement of the commercial interests of the British Empire, impressed also, with a conviction of the importance of the Colonial Trade of India, both to the welfare of that branch of the Empire, as well as to the National interests of Great Britain, your Memorialists humbly beg leave to submit to the consideration of your Lordships the unprotected state of their maritime Commerce, against the Enemy's cruizers, and the consequent grievous losses sustained by your Memorialists from the capture of their ships and property.

Your Memorialists having silently witnessed during a long series of years a fatal inattention to the protection of the Trade and Navigation of India, and having more recently sustained losses by Capture, to an enormous and unprecedented extent, feel that they should be wanting in duty not only to themselves and to the interests of India, but to your Lordships, and to the British Nation, were they longer to delay this representation to your honourable Board, in order to obtain such interposition as to the wisdom of your Lordships, the case shall appear to demand.

Your Memorialists, adverting to the number of His Majesty's ships employed in the Indian Seas, and contrasting their force with the reduced condition of the Navy, and naval resources of the Enemy ; considering also, that during the course of the present war there have occurred no objects of enterprize, nor schemes of conquest requiring the service of His Majesty's Ships in India, your Memorialists have ventured on these grounds, to conclude that the protection of the Trade of this country had been considered as entitled to some share of the regard of His Majesty's Government and that the same object came within

¹ As this address is not on file in the Record Office it is given in full.—ED.

the scope of your Lordships' design in appointing so large a force as has been maintained on this station.

From the relative state of the British and French affairs in India from the possessions of the latter to the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope being confined to the two small islands of Mauritias and Bourbon, your Memorialists are apprehensive that your Lordships have been led to the belief that the Enemy were incompetent either to injure or to disturb the navigation of India, a belief that must have derived probable confirmation from a comparative view of the naval force and resources of the British and French powers in this country. In these views, so likely to lead to an opinion unhappily the reverse of the fact, your Memorialists possess an additional motive to bring before your Lordships the suffering condition of their trade and navigation.

It would be unnecessarily tedious to particularize to your Lordships all the instances of capture of British Ships in these seas, by the Enemy's cruizers, during the late and present war, your Memorialists trust that it will be sufficient to lay before your Lordships the annexed document Number One, exhibiting an authenticated statement of the amount of the losses by capture, paid by the offices of Insurance, in Calcutta alone, from the year 1798 until September 1807, extending to a Capital of upwards of Two millions sterling.

Yet your Memorialists cannot decline the painful duty of more particularly advertng to the recent capture of no less than nineteen British ships and vessels within the short period of two months, and at a station which the regular visitation of the Enemy's cruizers at the opening of the North East Monsoon obviously pointed out as pre-eminently requiring protection.

The annexed paper marked Number Two, contains a particular statement of the Ships thus recently captured, and the amount of property lost in consequence. Your Memorialists do not particularly advert to these captures from the magnitude of the loss thence occasioned, but because they were accompanied with circumstances superadding to the loss sensations of peculiar poignancy and aggravation.

All the captures to which your Memorialists here particularly refer, were made in the Bay of Bengal by two French Frigates, and a Privateer named the *Revenant* of sixteen Guns. It was the lot of this Privateer to make the greater part of these captures, and his depredations were committed chiefly in view of the Coast of Coromandel, where he has remained upwards of three

months, distant little more than four hundred miles from Calcutta, and within one hundred leagues of Madras roads, the principal Station of His Majesty's ships, and where at the same time the Flag of a British Rear-Admiral and several of His Majesty's pennants were displayed.

It will scarcely be believed, or rather it will be believed with surprize and indignation that the privateer in which the Enemy has thus suuccessfully extended his depredations along our defenceless shores, still continues on his station, and notwithstanding the extent of the British naval force in this country such is the unprotected state of our seaboard, that this single privateer already so destructive to our Commerce, and though of a force contemptible when compared with the smallest of His Majesty's ships, continues to spread consternation throughout the ports of India, creating alarm for the safety of the ships that are at sea, deterring the outward bound from proceeding on their voyages, and inducing Government as a measure of prudence, to lay an embargo on the Trade. Nor can your Memorialists foresee any probable cause to induce the Enemy's privateer to relinquish the station he thus triumphantly maintains until the number of his captures shall be such as to require more men to navigate them than the privateer can supply, or until satiated with success, he may voluntarily retire from our Coasts.

Your Memorialists anticipate the poignant regret with which your Lordships will hear that of these lately captured British Ships particularized in the annexed paper, Number Two, the principal part were consigned to Madras with cargoes of Grain, for the relief of the unfortunate native British subjects of the Carnatic and adjoining countries suffering under the calamities of famine. The Government of Fort St. George, commiserating the distresses of the surrounding people, and anxious to avert the evils that threatened to depopulate the Carnatio, humanely tendered a bounty on the importation of Grain at Madras, and proclamation and public advertisements to that effect were long and anxiously repeated.

In consequence of this urgent pressure for the importation of Grain at Madras, almost the whole of the shipping of India were directed to that object, and the better to facilitate the supply permission was given to Danes and Americans to import Grain at Madras on the same terms as English ships. Accordingly during the first six or eight months of the present year, large quantities of Grain were conveyed from Bengal to the Coast of

Coromandel, to the great relief of the suffering inhabitants, yet during that urgent period, during the whole continuance of the Famine and while the mitigation of its calamities was entirely dependent on the safe navigation of our shipping; even during that anxious period, not a single ship or vessel of His Majesty's Squadron as far as your Memorialists are informed, was either employed or directed to afford protection to that branch of trade, though engaged in the most urgent and pressing services of humanity, and in consequence of this entire want of protection many of our ships laden with grain were captured by the enemy, and your Lordships though remote from the scene of distress will share in the general regret of India on being informed that a large proportion of the supplies anxiously designed to relieve the severities of Famine, were thus turned aside from that great object and withdrawn from the sustenance of multitudes of British subjects perishing from want.

Your Memorialists disclaim the intention of addressing themselves to your Lordships' feelings by adverting to these facts, they refer to them as making a direct appeal to the enlightened judgment of your Right Honourable Board, as affording presumptive evidence of neglect on the part of His Majesty's ships of a rich and valuable trade thence left an easy prey to the humblest efforts of the enemy. They refer particularly to these facts as demonstrating that a branch of the Trade of India though directed to a great national object, and while employed in succouring the imperious calls of humanity, yet failed in its claim to the protection of His Majesty's Ships, and it thence arises as an obvious conclusion that if that branch of the Trade while so employed, was viewed, under the present Naval system in India, with indifference and neglect it were vain and preposterous and contrary to all the experience of the past to expect that under the same system the same hopeless neglect does not await, for the future, all its ordinary and inferior branches.

Your Memorialists are aware that the desultory operations of the Enemy's ships may often elude the utmost vigilance and that no system of protection can be so complete as to prevent occasional captures, through the enterprize and address of an active force. Such captures afford no ground for complaint, and admit of no other remedy than increased caution; But your Memorialists conceive that there is no similar instance as that to which they refer of a privateer continuing an uninterrupted series of operations for a period of upwards of three months on a Coast of the

British Empire in the direct tract of their chief navigation, and within less than three hundred miles of a principal station of His Majesty's ships. Nor do your Memorialists believe that the most extensive branch of British Commerce either European or Colonial, ever suffered such a series of single captures in so short a period as has been made by the *Revenant* privateer, on the Coast of Coromandel.

It cannot fail to appear most extraordinary to your Lordships that notwithstanding the Enemy after making these numerous captures dispatched their prizes manned with a few Frenchmen, to the Isle of France distant nearly three thousand miles not a single instance of recapture has occurred, which is the more remarkable as the known fact that prizes captured in the Bay of Bengal, whether dispatched to Mauritias or Bourbon, make the island of Rodrigues, to take a fresh departure, and further the great extent of ocean which the prizes must necessarily traverse before they reach the French Islands, are circumstances particularly in favour of the attempt to recapture them on their passage.

In further proof of the disregard to the safety or interests of the Trade of this country, your Memorialists observe that although accounts were received at Madras of the two French Frigates and the privateer above mentioned having entered the Bay of Bengal in the month of September last no measures are known to have been taken to counteract their schemes; and they continued without molestation to cruise upon our Coasts. Even at that critical moment when our Trade was menaced on all sides with imminent danger, all His Majesty's Ships then in Madras Roads were directed to proceed on an expedition to the Eastward, leaving the Enemy in the Bay, and the trade of India exposed to their ravages, which in consequence has sustained the numerous recent captures particularly referred to in this Memorial.

Your Memorialists further beg leave humbly to express their serious apprehensions that from the long-continued neglect of the Trade of India, under successive Naval Commanders-in-Chief, the Enemy under the fullest evidence of that fact, emboldened also by their late successes, and having so much reason to regard the Bay of Bengal as the most promising Field for their enterprize, will not only continue but will enlarge the scope of their depredations in this quarter by increased resources drawn from Europe.

As the Monsoons necessarily occasion the Ships navigating the Bay of Bengal to keep within a narrow tract, the protection of the Trade might thence be greatly facilitated. It is well known to all professional men, and confirmed by the experience of every year, that there are certain points in the Bay of Bengal where the cruizers of the Enemy regularly appear at the commencement of the North East Monsoon, a fact clearly pointing out these stations as most obviously requiring all the vigilance of protection, but which judging from the number of captures made at those particular points, appear to have been wholly neglected.

Your Memorialists think it incumbent upon them most humbly to represent to your Lordships that the active operations of your Majesty's Squadron in India have been almost uniformly directed to objects of partial good ; to objects that even in their fullest attainment are beneficial at most to a few, to a very few individuals only. The favourite expeditions against the Dutch in this country, a prostrate, a fallen, and passive foe, are attended in their fullest success, according to the humble judgment of your Memorialists with no national or public advantage, while at the same time they leave the whole Trade of India, exposed to the depredations of an active and enterprizing Enemy.

Your Memorialists conceive that it would be superfluous and unnecessary to detain your Lordships with further instances of the unprotected state of their trade or to enumerate further instances of the capture of their Ships by the Enemy's cruizers, than those to which they have already referred or in addition to those contained in the two documents annexed. They trust that the facts which they have had the honour to represent to your Lordships, afford sufficient proof of uniform inattention, under the prevailing system of His Majesty's Naval affairs in India, to the Trade of this country. And your Memorialists in the firm persuasion that your Lordships did intend that the Maritime interests of India should share the protection of His Majesty's Ships, venture to express their humble confidence that the facts that they have set forth will incline your Lordships to regard the subject of this Memorial as deserving your serious consideration, and that your Lordships will so interpose your authority, as to secure the accomplishment of an object deeply involving the welfare of the British Empire, as well as the commercial interests of India.

Finally your Memorialists beg leave to observe that however

fully your Lordships may have contemplated the protection of the Colonial Trade of India, and however competent the naval force, destined to that purpose, is allowed to be, the liberal and salutary intentions of your Lordships have been frustrated, and the progressively increasing number of captures which their Trade has suffered, evince that its security is less dependent on the extent of the naval force than on a judicious well-regulated distribution of that force in its practical application.

The more fully your Memorialists consider the causes that have combined to deprive their Trade of its due protection, the more they regard them as inspiring additional hope of the interposition of your Lordships' wisdom and authority in the case, from which only they can expect adequate relief: whether by directing such occasional references on the part of His Majesty's naval Commanders-in-Chief in India, to the mercantile interests of the principal ports in this country: whether, by appointing a particular part of the naval force for the special purpose of protecting the Trade, or in what manner otherwise, are points on which it does not become your Memorialists to offer an opinion consistently with the deference due to the superior judgment and enlightened intelligence of your Lordships."

"CALCUTTA,
10th December, 1807."

Fairlie Gilmore & Co.	Tulloh & Company
Trail Palmer & Co.	Gould Son & Campbell
Downie & Co.	L. A. Davidson
Scott Wilson & Co.	John Robertson
Hogue Davidson & Co.	Walter Adams
MacIntoshes Fulton & Mc- Clintock	P. Stewart
John Gilmore & Co.	Merchants and Agents
Johannes Sarkeis & Co.	A. Davidson
Campbells & Radcliffe	C. Hook
Stephen & Petruce Carrapiet	Robert Campbell
J. McTaggart	Allan Gilmore
Frushard & Laprimaudaye	David Clark
Campbell & Hook	G. A. Simpson
Harvey Weathrall & Co.	P. Maitland
Charles Blaney	R. Downie
G. Abbott	D. Colvin
Rt. Lawson	James Colvin
	John Corsar

James Scott	W. A. Raper
J. Mackillop	M. Weathrall
William Dring	J. Bentley
Robert Warden	A. Wilson
B. W. Gould	Wm. Hollings
C. M. Radcliffe	Chas Key Bruoc
W. Wilson	Shaik Gullam-Hussan
J. Sarkeis	(Two signatures of natives)
W. Sarkeis	Ramduloll Day
J. Campbell	Joseph Haunah
J. King	

Ship Owners & Underwriters.

No. 1

" Abstract of Losses by capture of Ships and Vessels in the Indian Seas accounted for and paid by the different Insurance Companies of Calcutta, etc , from¹ the 1st of October, 1807.

By the Calcutta Insurance Office	.	Sicca rupees	37,46,939
India Insurance Company .	.	" "	23,97,858
Phoenix Insurance Company .	.	" "	20,50,456
Calcutta Insurance Company .	.	" "	21,20,125
Asiatic Insurance Company .	.	" "	17,15,041
Hindustan Insurance Company .	.	" "	9,50,183
Ganges Insurance Company .	.	" "	7,36,520
			<u>137,17,122</u>

Amounting to the sum of pounds sterling	.	£1,714,640	5	0
To which add losses by Capture paid for by private Underwriters and Insurance Companies at Bombay and Madras, estimated at 3,00,000 Sicca Rupees	.	.	.	
		375,000	0	0
		<u>£2,089,640</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>

Fairlie Gilmore, Secretary Cal : Insee. Off.
 Hogue Davidson & Co., Agents, India Insee. Comp.
 Scott Wilson & Co., Agents, Phoenix Insee. Comp
 J. MacTaggart, Secretary Cal : Insee Comp.
 Alexander & Co., Agents, Asiatic Insee. Comp.
 Joseph Barretto & Co., Agents, Hindostan Comp.
 Campbell & Radcliffe, Agents, Ganges Insee. Comp."

¹ This word should apparently be "to." See p. 414, which gives the period as from 1798 to Sept., 1807.—Ed.

VALUABLE SHIPS AND CARGO

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Names of the ships.	America. Ins. Co.	Calcutta. Ins. Off.	Calcutta. Ins. Co.	India. Ins. Co.	Phoenix. Ins. Co.	Ganges. Ins. Co.	Total Sa. Rupees.
Udny			40,000	99,300	5,000		144,300
Mangles				125,000		51,000	176,000
Trafalgar	150,000						150,000
Adml. Aplin	13,000			100,000	58,800		171,800
Sarah		35,000		30,000			30,000
Highland Chief			44,000	30,000			65,000
Maria				80,000			124,000
La Fortune		45,000		40,000			40,000
Hunter			31,200				76,200
Success Brig.	12,000			6,000			18,000
Experiment Brig.				15,000			15,000
Eliza	Insured	at Bombay			100,000	64,000	164,000
Caroline							
Calcutta	Insured	at Bombay					
Althea		156,000	74,800	128,000		110,000	984,150
Elizabeth	45,000	50,000		2,350		75,000	
Gilwell		55,000		60,000			
Susannah	87,400					39,200	87,400
Dansberg							39,200
Kitty	307,400	341,000	190,000	715,650	391,800	339,200	2,285,050
			45,000				45,000

ALEXANDER & CO., Agents, As Ins. Co.
 FAIRLIE GILMORE & CO., Sec. Cal. Ins. Co.
 L. ROY & CO., Sec. Cal. Ins. Co.
 L. ROY & CO., Sec. Cal. Ins. Co.
 SCOTT WILSON & CO., Agents, India Ins. Co.
 CAMPBELL & RADCLIFFE, Agents, Ganges Ins. Co.
 JOS. BARRETT & CO., Agents, Eliza Ins. Society. Lost nothing by capture in the above months.

amounting to the sum of pounds sterling £291,256 5s. 0d.

2,330,050

I have never heard that this Memorial produced the smallest effect or drew the attention of the Lords of the Admiralty to the subject complained of. Certain it is that Sir Edward Pellew who commanded upon the East India Station during the period of the unheard-of losses therein stated, having soon after completed the object of his voyage to the East by making a handsome fortune, returned to England, where instead of being censured for any omissions or neglect of duty while in India, he was received by the members of administration in the most flattering manner, and shortly afterwards was appointed to another important command. This gallant Admiral, however, did not prove a successful smuggler, having had contraband goods to the amount of several thousand pounds seized by the Custom House officers on board his ship, the *Culloden*, a few days after her arrival at Plymouth from India.

On Sunday the 6th of March one of the seamen of the *Castle Eden* who had been in the Doctor's list from the time of leaving Bengal, died, and the same evening his corpse was committed to the deep.

The *Castlereagh* detained us greatly, the Fleet being constantly obliged to heave to for two hours, frequently more, every day to wait her coming up. At sunset saw the Island of Ceylon at no great distance, the weather being very hazy, to which we were bound in order to receive a certain quantity of spices, as well as to wait the arrival of certain other ships from Madras and Bombay that were to accompany us to England.

Monday the 7th. A pleasant breeze from the northward ; at daylight a long tract of the Island of Ceylon in sight, distance from the nearest part about three miles ; ran along shore at a quick rate. Several fishing catamarans attempted to get alongside our ship, but she went with such velocity through the water that only two out of upwards of twenty succeeded ; from which two we procured an ample supply of delicious fish. At 10 a.m. a large ship in sight standing direct towards us. After making a private signal to the *Terpsichore*, which the frigate duly answered, she bore up

before the wind, pursuing the same course as our Fleet. At 2 p.m. saw the flagstaff of Point de Galle. At four we came to an anchor in the roads about two miles from the shore the only vessel there being His Majesty's ship *Belliqueux*, a sixty-four of the largest class and commanded by my *ci-devant* young friend, George Byng, whom I have already mentioned as a pickle boy when midshipman of the *Superb*, with Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, in the year 1783, which said George Byng is now, by the united deaths of his uncle and father, become Lord Viscount Torrington. The *Belliqueux* was the sail we had seen in the morning, which came out to ascertain what the approaching Fleet were. At Point de Galle we were informed that the Madras ships had passed three days before on their way to Columbo, there to receive each some cinnamon. At five the *Lord Duncan* anchored, and at seven the *Castlereagh*, being, as usual, the last of the Fleet. By a small country vessel that now came in we learnt that the *Monmouth*, a sixty-four, with four extra ships under her convoy from England had arrived at Madras, a few days before, the *Monmouth* having brought out Admiral Drury to succeed Sir Edward Pellew in the command upon the India station.

In the evening I wrote a note to Captain Byng announcing my arrival, and further saying that I should be happy to renew our long-interrupted acquaintance, as well as to congratulate him upon the very different situation he now filled to what I had last seen him in.

Tuesday the 8th was an extremely sultry day. At eleven in the morning I received a very kind letter from Captain Byng telling me that he was just stepping into his barge to come to me when the Doctor put a positive prohibition against his going out in so intense a sun as was then shining, and as he had long been a serious invalid he deemed it reasonable and prudent to yield to medical advice, but that all the Doctors in the country should not prevent his being with me towards evening when the sun would have lost much of its dangerous influence. At a little after four he accordingly came and appeared really glad to see me.

During his visit he took an early opportunity of telling Captain Colnett that I was one of his oldest friends, and mentioned the circumstance of his having touched me for a certain quantity of pagodas when a midshipman of the *Superb*, though added he, "I fear I ought to blush at the recollection, that money having clearly been raised under false pretences."

Captain Byng stayed supper with us, and after inviting me and some other of the *Castle Eden* passengers to breakfast on board the *Bellicieux* the following morning, took his leave and returned to his ship. I declined his invitation under the plea of ill-health, but Mr. and Mrs. Todd, Mr. Stewart, and Major Dawson accepted the same and intended carrying it into effect. At daylight the next morning four ships made their appearance standing in from the northward, in consequence of which the *Bellicieux* got under way, and at seven a note came from Captain Byng to me, saying the ships in sight were a part of the Admiral's Squadron, Sir Edward Pellew's flag flying at the mast-head of one of them; that his duty would therefore call him to the Admiral's ship and render it impossible for him to receive the party he had invited to breakfast. At eight Sir Edward Pellew's ship, the *Culloden*, the *Powerful*, a seventy-four, and two other smaller ships came into the roads, where they hove to, when we saw Captain Byng in his barge going to the Admiral, where he remained upwards of three hours, when he returned to his own ship, the Admiral and his companions making sail and standing off and on until three in the afternoon, when they bore up to go round the southernmost point of the Island and proceed to Bombay.

At five in the afternoon Captain Byng renewed his visit to the *Castle Eden*, bringing to me the very acceptable present of some late London newspapers and magazines, which Sir Edward Pellew had given to him. He renewed the invitation to the breakfasting party, requesting to see them on board the *Bellicieux* the following morning. Seven of my shipmates accordingly went, but I again apologized

from the state of my health. At noon (of the 10th) they returned highly pleased with the trip, Mrs. Todd in particular expressing her gratification at the hospitable and polite reception she had met with from Captain Byng. By the boat that brought them back, he wrote me a note, upbraiding me for not having joined the party and insisting that I should come and dine with him that day, but there was so immense a swell and the ships consequently rolled and tumbled about so much I could not bring myself to leave the *Castle Eden*. In the evening we had heavy rain with violent thunder and lightning; a sloop of war passed through the roads on her passage towards Bombay to join Sir Edward Pellow.

This day the *Terpsichore* sailed for Bengal, which opportunity I availed myself of to address my many friends at that Settlement. At seven in the morning of Friday the 11th, a boat came from the *Belliqueux* bringing me some fine fruit, with a note from Captain Byng, saying he would dine with me on board the *Castle Eden*. At noon six strange sail made their appearance coming from the northward, whereupon the *Belliqueux*, as usual, weighed anchor and stood out to ascertain what they were. She soon returned, having by signal discovered the largest to be His Majesty's ship the *Monmouth* giving protection to the *Worcester*, East Indiaman, and four small transports in the service of Government which were bound to the Cape of Good Hope. At one in the afternoon Captain Bradford of the *Lord Duncan*, with Mr. Macintosh, a passenger of his, came to visit us. At two Captain Byng came alongside in his beautiful barge, the crew being handsomely and uniformly dressed, when we sat him down to what he declared to me privately was by far the best dinner in every respect that he had seen since he left England, and certain it was that my friend, Captain Colnett, kept an admirable table. Captain Byng informed us that he had just received an account of the Bombay ships having put into Columbo on the 8th. At seven in the evening the *Monmouth* and ships under her protection came to an anchor in the roads.

Saturday the 12th. Early in the morning Captain Byng, as the Senior Naval Commander, sent orders to Captain Colnett, in his capacity of Commodore of the Indiamen, to put himself and the Fleet bound to Europe under the command of Captain King of the *Monmouth*, he being prepared to take charge of them. At ten in the morning, there being a fine steady breeze, Captain Byng came on board the *Castle Eden*, bringing with him Mr. Samuel Young, a gentleman in the Civil Service of the Company upon their establishment of Madras, with whom I had thentofore been acquainted. He was only son of Sir George Young, an old Admiral, and had taken his passage for Europe in one of the transports with a view to economy and avoiding the enormous expence of embarking on one of the Company's ships. Captain Byng insisted upon my returning with him to the *Belliqueux* where I should make a fourth at dinner. As I found he would take no excuse I was obliged to comply, and embarked with him and Mr. Young. The fourth guest was a gentleman whose name I do not recollect, but he was Surgeon to one of the King's regiments in garrison at Point de Galle, and seemed to be a well-informed pleasant man, no flincher at the bottle either, taking down a very liberal quantity of Byng's claret, which was admirably good, and as well cooled as if done by the most famous Aubdar of Calcutta. We dined at one, and at four the cutler being made ready with an immense quantity of canvas, Captain Byng proposed taking me on shore to shew me the place. We accordingly got into the boat, running towards shore at the rate of eleven miles an hour. During this sail of little more than two miles, the Surgeon invited us to dine with him on the following day at his Quarters at Point de Galle, which invitation was readily accepted by all three.

Upon landing we found a single horse chaise in waiting for Captain Byng, which he had previously borrowed, into which he made me get, the Doctor taking charge of Mr. Young. Captain Byng drove me about seven miles into as beautiful and romantic a country as could be, almost

rivalling the extraordinary views of Jamaica. We stopped at three or four different seats of friends of Captain Byng's, at one of which we were served with excellent coffee and tea. At nine at night we returned into the Fort, where we supped at the Fort-Adjutant's, Lieutenant Clitherow, who was married to a very pretty smart young woman, which lady told me she spent some months in Calcutta and had been several times in company with me at large parties, especially at some very gay dances given by Mrs. Birch.

Just as we had taken our seats at the supper table, General Maitland, the Governor of the Island, arrived from Columbo, being upon a circuit to the different military stations. I had many years before been acquainted with this gentleman in Bengal, at which period he led a very sad debauched life. From his getting into various scrapes he was then distinguished by the name of "Mad Maitland." He was very civil and lamented that he could not have the pleasure of seeing me at Columbo, the principal seat of the Government.

At half-past ten o'clock, being a beautiful moonlight night, Captain Byng conveyed me in his boat alongside the *Castle Eden*, promising to call again the following morning and accompany me on a visit to General Maitland, previous to going to dinner at the Doctor's, where in all probability the General would likewise be, as he still liked a jorum of good wine, and the Doctor had the reputation of being a capital host in that way. This visit, however, was not to take place.

On Sunday the 13th at seven o'clock in the morning, several ships appeared rounding the southernmost point of the Island, attended by a man-of-war, to which latter the *Belliqueux* made the private signal, and was duly answered, after which they by telegraph made known that the ships coming in were the *Duncan*, frigate, with the *Charlton* and several other homeward-bound Indiamen, two of which appeared to be far astern of the rest. At noon, four of them came to an anchor, soon after which we were greatly surprised at seeing a gun fired from the *Monmouth* and her

fore-topsail loosed, being a signal for the Fleet to unmoor and get under way. The *Castile Eden*, always upon the alert, had her anchors up, and three topsails set, nearly as soon as those of the *Monmouth*. Captain Colnett now told me that all idea of my going on shore to dine was out of the question, and soon after he had so said, I received a letter from Captain Byng lamenting that the sudden determination of Captain King to get the Fleet away left so much business upon his hands as to render it impossible for him to come and take leave of me in person. In the same letter he informed me that His Majesty's ship the *St. Fiorenzo* had a few days before, when cruising off Cape Comorin, captured the *Piedmontese*, French frigate, a vessel of considerably greater force, both as to guns and men, than herself, but that in the conflict Captain Harding, the gallant Commander of the *St. Fiorenzo*, lost his life.

About an hour after I received this letter from Captain Byng, a gentleman who was passenger in the *Charlton* came aboard our ship bringing with him the following extract from the *St. Fiorenzo's* log book, which he had procured from one of the Lieutenants, the gentleman adding that he had a few hours before seen the *St. Fiorenzo* towing her prize into Columbo.

Extract from the Log of His Majesty's ship *St. Fiorenzo* :

"Sunday, 6th of March —At daylight saw three large ships, which we soon ascertained to be English East Indiamen, standing to the south-east. At ten a.m. a strange sail appeared on the starboard beam, to which we immediately gave chase, continuing the same the entire day. At sunset she bore north-east and by north half north, distant about four miles, being then under a crowd of canvas. At ten at night we were almost within gunshot of her. At a little before eleven, she hove to and received us with an entire broadside upon which a smart action commenced. At fifty-five minutes after eleven, she suddenly bore up, set every sail they could stick upon her and ceased firing, we following as close as we could, firing our bow chasers occasionally during the night. At daylight of the seventh she had increased her distance from us near a mile, but by five we neared her again, whereupon she hove to, and re-

newed the action by another broadside which the *St. Fiorenzo* was in no way backward in returning and that too with ample interest. At five minutes after eight a.m. the fire of the enemy evidently slackened, whilst on the other hand ours increased. At fifteen minutes after eight the enemy gave us a broadside and then instantly bore up, making all the sail in her power to get away, the *St. Fiorenzo* chasing as fast as her crippled state would allow, but firing as long as our shot would reach her. Upon inspection we found all three lower masts much wounded, the fore-mast materially so; the fore topsail yard cut in two, and the whole rigging so greatly damaged by the enemy's shot that we were compelled to shorten sail to repair the same, in which all hands were employed working with indefatigable zeal, at the same time continuing the chase with such sail as we could carry. At two p.m. the enemy was hull down to the eastward; at nine at night we entirely lost sight of her, but at twelve again discovered her with our night glasses bearing east, and kept her in view until daylight of the 8th, when she was about three leagues from us, but being obliged to shift her main topsail which had split in a squall, we once more gained upon her. At forty minutes after noon, being then within two miles of her, she hoisted Dutch colours and in a quarter of an hour afterwards lowered them and hoisted an English ensign. At ten minutes after four p.m. we were fortunate enough to come up with and bring her to close action, which was maintained with vigour and determination on both sides; at half-past five our gallant Commander, Captain Harding, was killed, and at forty minutes past five the enemy struck, whereupon we took possession of the French frigate *Piedmontese*, a powerful ship mounting fifty guns. The *St. Fiorenzo*, besides her brave Commander, had twelve seamen killed, with two Lieutenants and twenty-five seamen wounded, many of them dangerously. The enemy had no less than one hundred and eighty-seven men killed and wounded.

The second Captain (Moreau) who was said to have behaved most shamefully in wounding Captain Larkins, Commander of the *Warren Hastings*, Indiaman (which ship the *Piedmontese* attacked and captured off the Cape of Good Hope), after she had not only struck, but was in complete possession of the French, and Captain Larkins had delivered up his sword to the Commanding Officer who boarded him, and further in exciting his men by every means in his power, to continue the contest

though without a probability of success, was reported in absolute despair to have thrown himself overboard, preferring the perishing in the ocean to falling into the hands of the English from whom he was perfectly aware he deserved no mercy : nor probably would he have received any, the British tars being so enraged upon hearing Captain Larkins's narrative of the brutality with which he had been treated, after the surrender of his ship, and which was said to be entirely owing to Moreau, that they one and all vowed vengeance against the savage Frenchman, declaring they would instantly butcher him if ever he fell into their hands. So base had his conduct been considered to be, that the Admiral, Sir Edward Pellew, issued an order directed to every Captain of his Fleet that if ever the *Piedmontese* should be captured, this Moreau should immediately afterwards be sent a close prisoner to the Flag Ship."

CHAPTER XXIV

1808

ACCIDENTS AT SEA. VIOLENT STORMS. A PAINFUL
ILLNESS. ASHORE AT ST. HELENA

AS several of our ships did not get under way upon the signals being made for that purpose, the *Monmouth* and those that had acted in obedience to her orders continued under topsails, standing out to sea the remainder of the evening and until daybreak of the following morning, Monday, the 14th, when we again hauled our wind and made for the land, upon nearing which we observed several ships still at an anchor with boats alongside, from which they were hoisting in packages and water casks. The Commodore thereupon repeated the signal for all ships to make sail, to which they paid not the least attention. At this time there was a light breeze blowing from the north-west. At eight in the morning a boat from the *Belliqueux* came alongside with a farewell letter from Captain Byng to me, to which I sent a friendly reply. At eleven it began to blow very strong from the east-south-east, in consequence of which the whole Fleet were obliged to treble reef their topsails : the sea also rose very suddenly. We stood to the southward under courses only, the *Monmouth* firing a gun every quarter of an hour, and making a variety of signals to particular ships. Seeing, however, that three ships still remained at an anchor, the *Monmouth* tacked, and once more stood in towards the land, the rest of the Fleet following her example. As we approached the land it was ascertained that the ships remaining at anchor were the *Surrey*, the *Marquis Wellesley*, and the *Worcester*,

the last mentioned having her top-gallant masts struok as if she had met with some accident. At sunset we observed that the *Belliqueux* made a number of different signals to our convoy, which were respectively answered, the meaning of them being totally unknown to us, soon after which the *Surrey* and *Marquis Wellesley* made sail and joined the Fleet, whereupon the *Monmouth* made a signal to steer south until further orders. The *Worcester* was left at Point de Galle, and we learnt subsequently that one of the ships in getting under way had run foul and done her so much damage as to make it impossible for her to proceed to sea ; being struck upon her bow it caused an immediate leak of so serious a nature that it was pronounced necessary for her to go round to Bombay to be docked the investigation of which point was what detained the Commanders of the *Surrey* and *Marquis Wellesley*.

Our Fleet consisted of seventeen sail. Nothing material occurred until the 18th when, after having blown strong for several hours, it suddenly fell calm, leaving an immense swell which rendered our situation extremely dangerous from three of the ships being close to each other. At one in the afternoon every person on board thought the *Lord Duncan* must inevitably come in contact with us, which, had such a circumstance occurred, would in all probability have proved fatal to both vessels by sending them to the bottom ; providentially, however, we escaped the dreadful trial when within a few hundred yards of each other, a number of boats from the different ships succeeding in towing us in contrary directions so as to increase our distance, but during two hours the scene was most tremendously awful.

On the 19th we had another narrow escape. The *Metcalfe* being very near us, and we unable to give way from another ship being close to us on the other side, our chief mate hailed to say the *Metcalfe* was much too near, whereupon the officer on duty in the *Metcalfe* ordered the man at the helm to bear up by porting the helm, or he would be foul of the *Castle Eden*. The man at once seeing the danger

became alarmed, and in his fright, instead of porting his helm put it a starboard, which threw their ship directly upon us, she passing so close that her jib-boom actually got entangled with the rigging of our spanker, which luckily gave way and she then went clear. At this time a high sea was running.

Our great guns were now regularly exercised twice a week, though I fear had it been our fate to depend upon the hostile use of them for safety, we should have cut but a wretched bad figure.

On the 20th the *Hawkesbury* by telegraph informed our Commodore, King, that their Commander, Captain Smith, was dangerously ill, and that he wished to have the advice of the Surgeon of the *Castle Eden*, whom he requested might be permitted to go to the *Hawkesbury* to consult upon the case with her doctor; which request being immediately assented to, a boat came from the *Hawkesbury*, in which Mr. Powell went to her. In about four hours he returned and informed us he found Captain Smith labouring under the serious malady of an inflammation in his bowels, accompanied by extreme debility and the whole nervous system deranged: that he administered certain medicines from which he hoped benefit and had waited to see their effect: that he left him relieved from the acute pain and in other respects very materially better; he added that he did not consider Captain Smith's life to be in immediate danger, though he thought a perfect recovery very doubtful.

On the 24th at daybreak we were seven or eight miles astern of the Fleet. Before sunrise a gun from the *Monmouth* drew the attention of the officer of the watch, who, looking through his spying-glass, perceived the *Castle Eden's* signal flying; a press of sail being thereupon set, we by nine in the morning had got well up with the Fleet. At half-past nine the Commodore made a signal for the *Castle Eden* to send a boat with an officer on board his ship, in consequence of which Mr. Castells, our fourth mate, was immediately dispatched in the jolly boat; upon his return

he said he had been received with vast hauteur by the officers of His Majesty's ship. He brought a letter from Captain King to Captain Colnett, addressed "Upon His Majesty's Service," calling upon Captain Colnett to explain how it had happened that the *Castle Eden* had that morning been so far out of her station. This official letter Captain Colnett forthwith replied to by giving an extract of the proceedings that had occurred during the night on board his ship, with which Mr. Castells was again sent to the *Monmouth*.

Sunday, April the 3rd, the weather proved tempestuous, with a very threatening appearance in the sky; we had frequent hard squalls, accompanied by heavy rain and severe thunder and lightning; the Fleet being under treble-reefed topsails, only thirteen could be seen, and those much dispersed; by sunset, however, the whole number were discernible from the mast-head, when the *Monmouth* made the general signal to close.

At one in the morning of the 4th we had a tremendous squall, and at two another of equal violence, which continued increasing to a confirmed storm, blowing with the utmost fury throughout the rest of the day, attended with a prodigious high sea. In one of the gusts our foresail split and soon blew to pieces. The motion of the ship became so violent that sleeping was wholly out of the question, and I passed a wretched night: we, however, had the consolation of feeling that we were going at an immense rate upon our proper course, although with scarce any sail set, the wind being rather abaft the beam. The oldest seaman on board never had encountered such bad weather in that part of the world, we then being in the latitude of six south, and longitude eighty-two degrees, twenty-six minutes east. The dead lights being obliged to be fixed in, reduced me to the necessity of constantly burning candles in my cabin. I had the mortification to find that the ship's upper works were in a dreadful loaky state, the sea pouring in through her sides and stern at each particular seam, literally in torrents, which kept my cabin

absolutely deluged. A gloomy prospect for me who had long been uncommonly susceptible to damp in any way.

At daylight of the 5th the storm continued to blow with unrelenting fury, the Fleet being under their three close-reefed topsails, most of them meeting with serious accidents, the *Hawkesbury* having all her three topsails blown to shivers in an instant. Our miseries were considerably increased by the three little transports dropping so far astern, owing to the overwhelming sea, as to induce the Commodore to throw out the signal for heaving to, in order to afford them a chance of joining, by which we were laid in the trough of the sea, and I actually thought must have gone down. In the midst of this distress we perceived that one of the transports had carried away her fore-yard, another of them having lost her fore topmast. In this dismal state we remained upwards of four hours, when the transports being well up we again set our close-reefed topsails which made the ship comparatively easy.

On the 6th the wind somewhat decreased, but the sea continued most tremendous, and the ship took in so much water through her upper works, from stem to stern, that they were obliged to set all the pumps at work for at least one hour during every watch. This day we saw prodigious numbers of fish about the ship.

Early in the morning of the 8th the Commodore made some signals to the transports and at noon we observed a boat going from the *Monmouth* on board one of them. At one in the afternoon the three transports stood three points more to the westward than the Fleet, from which it was conjectured that the Commodore had instructed them to part company and make the best of their way to the Cape of Good Hope, a measure that was considered by the different Commanders as extremely unbecoming and rude in Captain King, because it was considered the invariable practice in the Navy that when one or more vessels of a Fleet, under convoy, were directed to run for a port, for such convoy to make that circumstance previously known to every ship of the Fleet in order to give the Commanders,

officers, and passengers an opportunity of sending letters if they wished so to do. At daybreak of the following morning, the 9th, the transports were not to be seen from the mast-head. We had now got fairly into the trade wind, and daylight was once more restored to our cabins. Our average daily run was about one hundred and thirty miles.

On Wednesday the 13th, when the ship was running at the rate of eight knots an hour, a seaman fell overboard from the forecastle. An alarm being instantly given the life-buoy was cut and lowered from the poop, it appearing to be in the water in a few seconds after the accident happened, the helm at the same time being put down in order to throw the ship into the wind. The jolly boat was likewise lowered and manned with a celerity that did those concerned infinite credit. The man who had fallen happened to be a capital swimmer, notwithstanding which, from the heavy break of the sea and probably the natural anxiety arising from the perilous situation he found himself in, he could not manage to reach the buoy, although he plainly saw it ; it however proved of important use to the people in the boat, directing them what course to row in, for they could not discover so small an object as the man in such a sea as was running : they accordingly made for the buoy, and when close to it first discovered the poor fellow they were in search of, whom they immediately approached, and hauled in just as he was sinking utterly exhausted by his great exertions. At the time this accident occurred we were the headmost ship of the Fleet, but before the boat with the man thus rescued from a watery grave returned alongside and was hoisted up, we were at least five miles astern of them all, a distance we nevertheless recovered before sunset, by putting every sail upon her that could be set, so that no delay whatsoever arose to the Fleet, not even the Commodore having shortened sail a single moment for us.

In the evening our ship was in the utmost confusion owing to many of the crew being in a state of intoxication. An enquiry took place thereupon, when it was discovered that the sail-maker, aided by one of the foremast men, had

contrived to break open the door of the lazaretto where the liquor was kept, from whence they supplied themselves and friends with a sufficient quantity of rum to make them excessively drunk: there were altogether twenty-one persons evidently inebriated. After an examination into the particulars, the two principal culprits, being the sail-maker and a foremast man, were immediately tied up to the main shrouds and severely flogged: four others were put into irons, the rest, expressing much contrition for the offence they had committed, were pardoned and order was restored.

On the 14th we met with a very serious loss and deprivation of comfort in the death of a remarkably fine Europe cow, which had come out in the ship and daily given an extraordinary quantity of milk. Without any apparent previous illness, she appeared about ten in the morning to be in great pain, and at twelve the poor animal died and was directly thrown overboard. Luckily we had another cow, a Bengallee one, on board, which with three fine Surat goats, yielded us a tolerable share of milk for morning and evening, besides an ample store for the children, who were, very properly, first considered.

The 15th it blew strong with a very high sea, from which the ships laboured so much that the *Hawkesbury* suddenly pitched away both main and fore-topmasts, in consequence of which she threw out a signal of distress, whereupon the Commodore ran close to her, lowered two of his boats and sent a number of his people on board to assist in making and getting up new topmasts. The whole Fleet were obliged to run all night under courses only and to continue the same the next day, from their having to form the new topmasts out of rough spars.

The 18th the weather bore a very threatening aspect, and being then in the tempestuous latitude of the southern end of the Island of Madagascar, a gale was considered as inevitable, and we had another strong prognostic thereof in much lightning during the night; the bad symptoms, however, ceased in a great measure at daylight and we had through the day favourable weather, which continued,

with the exception of sudden gusts, until the 25th, on which day it blew hard, accompanied by severe thunder and lightning and a very heavy confused sea, which tumbled us about sadly. The Fleet during this day were compelled to be under treble-reefed topsails. We had a terribly black and dismal sky all round. On the 27th both wind and sea greatly increased, in consequence of which I passed a very miserable night, the violence of the ship's motion making it impossible for me to get any sleep.

The 28th it again became moderate. This day many birds were seen flying around us. On the 30th, early in the morning, there was a light breeze from the eastward, which freshened as the sun got higher, drawing round to the north-east. At one in the afternoon the wind headed us three points, attended by extremely heavy black clouds. On a sudden it fell dead calm for half an hour, when the whole sky bore the most tremendous appearance, and the skilful men on board pronounced that bad weather was at hand. We were that day in latitude thirty-one degrees, twenty minutes, south, being within four degrees of the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope. The following day being the 1st of May, the bad symptoms were fully verified in a serious gale of wind from the north-north-west, with one of those immense seas usually distinguished by "running mountains high." In the height of the gale the *Charlton* made the signal of seeing a strange sail upon her lee bow, whereupon the *Monmouth* ran ahead to endeavour to ascertain what she was, but was not able to come up with her.

On the 3rd the gale somewhat decreased; the Commodore made sail as was conjectured for the purpose of running ahead of the Fleet in order to sound, the water appearing somewhat discoloured; towards evening the wind once more increased to a hard gale with a prodigious sea. A number of grampuses and birds were seen around the ship. The dead lights had been fixed in the last six days, but did not keep the sea out: I was in a most wretched state, my cabin being constantly full of water, nor could I get any

sleep from the excessive motion of the ship. These united miseries occasioned a return of my old spasmodic complaint in the stomach, under which malady I suffered excruciating pain. The Doctor, Mr. Powell, exerted his utmost skill and kindness to afford me relief, and succeeded in some degree. The Captain, with his usual consideration, pressed me to abandon my fixed bed place and try a swinging cot. I therefore on the 4th caused one to be rigged, constructed upon the best principles for counteracting the effect of violent motion, and had it hung up in my cabin. The first night I used it I had several hours' comfortable sleep which greatly recruited my strength that had been rapidly declining.

On the 7th, the weather then continuing as bad as ever, the Commodore, to the astonishment of the whole Fleet, made the signal to wear and stand to the northward, a course direct for the land, the consequence of which was many an anxious mind on board the *Castle Eden* (and probably equally so in other ships) from an apprehension that some of the Fleet might strike upon the rocks or shoals laid down in the charts of that part of the coast of Africa, off which we then were and from which, according to our reckoning, we were only a few leagues; this reckoning too proved correct, for at daylight we distinctly saw the coast, towards which the *Monmouth* nevertheless made us continue to stand until one in the afternoon, when we were within somewhat less than seven miles of the land. The Commodore then made the signal to wear and the Fleet again put their heads to the southward.

At two in the afternoon the *Charlton* made known by telegraphic signal that she had sounded and got ground with sixty-five fathoms of line, our latitude that day being thirty-three degrees, forty minutes south, and longitude twenty-seven degrees, eighteen minutes east. While running in towards the land the sea became considerably smoother, and we lost that awful swell that invariably prevailed when further out. In the evening it blew amazingly hard, the sky looking extremely terrific and wild; the

ship was therefore made as snug as possible, and as she at times pitched tremendously, the spritsail and the spritsail-topsail yards, were rigged in and stowed over the main hatches. Some one or other of the Fleet were now daily making signals of distress.

Sunday the 8th we were agreeably surprized with a moderate day, continuing so likewise on Monday, but a very heavy sea remained. This day, Monday the 9th, the *Hawkesbury* made known by telegraph that her Commander, Captain Smith, had departed this life, and the succeeding officer to the command requested the Commodore's permission to fire minute guns on committing the body of the deceased to the deep, which request the Commodore immediately complied with by the word "Certainly." At five in the afternoon the funeral took place, the *Monmouth* and every other ship of the Fleet hoisting their ensigns half-mast during the ceremony.

The 10th the bad weather recommenced by a furious gale from the north-west, which continued without the smallest interval during the fourteen following days. So distressing and dreadful a fortnight I never experienced in the whole course of my life. I became so annoyed from want of rest, added to the perpetual damp from heavy seas frequently breaking over the ship and entering my cabin in all directions, added to excessive anxiety of mind at the perilous situation we were in, that I conceived it must terminate my existence, nor have I the least doubt but that two or three days more of so severe suffering would have killed me.

During this uncommon continuance of tempestuous weather, every ship in the Fleet suffered materially either in rigging or hull ; some in both. The *Charlton* announced by signal that her bolt sprit was so dangerously sprung they could carry no sail upon the foremast nor hoist a jib or stay-sail ; that they found it would be impracticable properly to repair the damage at sea ; to which the Commodore replied, they must do the best they could for themselves being without remedy.

On the 23rd about noon the gale abated, there being then only three ships in sight, and two of them at so great a distance as scarcely to be discernible. At a little after noon we saw the land, which was known to be that near False Bay, and at two, the tableland and the Cape itself appeared very clearly to all on board, the tableland bearing north-east, distant about twenty-five leagues. At nine that night we were greatly alarmed, by what we conjectured to be an enemy, three large ships appearing close to us as if in chase. Happily they proved to be the *Monmouth* and two of our consorts, who knew us though we did not at first know them.

The 24th the weather continued very dark and gloomy with a general threatening appearance, and some hard squalls with large hail. This day several others of the Indiamen joined us, making the private signal as each of them approached, which the Commodore answered.

The 25th it began to blow hard again from the old quarter, north-west. At noon a man at the masthead called out there was a large ship upon our weather bow standing towards us, which at three in the afternoon joined, proving to be the *Earl Howe*, so that our Fleet was once more all together except the *City of London* for whose safety great apprehensions were entertained, as when last seen several days before she was labouring uncommonly hard and had signals of distress flying without the possibility of receiving the least assistance.

On the 26th it still blew hard with a tremendous sea, During the preceding boisterous night the Fleet had once more dispersed, only one ship, the *Airly Castle*, being in sight of us, and she was close under our lee quarter, affording a grand though truly awful spectacle, every minute seeming to plunge into so deep an abyss as if she never more could rise, yet in the next appearing above us upon the edge of a mountainous wave. Before five in the evening all the ships except the *City of London* were again distinguishable from the masthead, the *Monmouth* having the signal flying for the Fleet to close. The 27th the weather continued as bad

as ever. During the night the *Castlereagh* and *Lord Hawkesbury* parted company; indeed, the wonder was how any of us contrived to keep together.

At this time we deemed ourselves fairly past the Cape of Good Hope, round which we actually had been driven by force of the current, the wind having through the entire month blown from the very point we ought to have steered to. Having thus surmounted one great difficulty, our anxiety and uneasiness were far from done away from our dreading a want of water, of which requisite article only a very small quantity remained on board. Now it was that the stock I had laid in, previous to leaving Bengal, and in bottles, proved of the utmost importance, enabling me to assist Mrs. Todd and other of my fellow-passengers with an ample supply during the scarcity, every person in the ship, without distinction, having been put to an allowance of one pint a day. The still was set up and prepared to distil sea water to give to the live stock. Fortunately a torrent of rain at this critical period furnished a sufficient quantity for the purpose and rendered a recourse to distillation unnecessary.

The 28th, towards noon, we had a glimpse of the sun for a few minutes, being the first we had seen of that glorious orb for many days. By an indifferent observation we had the mortification to find we were a degree more to the southward than our dead reckoning made us, which could only be ascribed to an adverse current. The weather still continued threatening and gloomy with an immense sea running, which kept me wholly excluded from daylight in my cabin, and although I passed all the day in Captain Colnett's apartment, which was partly under the awning of the poop and extending some feet upon the quarter-deck, my health was miserably bad, and I entertained great doubts whether I should live to reach St. Helena. Our good doctor, Mr. Powell, plied me with ether and other volatile medicines, from which I derived some benefit, though I conceive still more from a bottle of admirable claret which I took every day at dinner.

On the 29th two sail appeared in sight, which in a few hours joined us, proving to be the *Castlereagh* and *Hawkesbury* that parted company the 27th. In the middle of the night of the 30th I was attacked by violent spasms in my stomach, which kept me several hours in an agony of pain. The Doctor, by persevering attention and using the same sort of volatile medicines as upon former occasions, procured me relief.

On the 1st of June the wind somewhat favoured us, and we began to entertain hopes of seeing the Island of St. Helena in a few days ; the weather still far from settled, heavy clouds, frequent severe squalls and a heavy confused sea making the ship labour and roll prodigiously, all which was considered very unusual in that part of the ocean, where the weather was expected to be moderate. They, however, this day took out the centre dead light from my cabin window, once more letting me receive the benefit of daylight.

On Saturday the 4th it blew strong with the same immense wind, but we had the consolation of running at a quick rate towards our destined port. Being our Sovereign's birthday we drank an additional bumper to His Majesty's health. In the middle of the night I was awakened by a number of voices roaring, with much vociferation from the gunroom and both decks, amongst which I could clearly distinguish those of Captain Colnett, and Mr. Anderson, the Chief Officer. In the utmost alarm I jumped out of my cot imagining the ship to be on fire : but upon going into the steerage I found the bustle had arisen from the helm's suddenly ceasing to move, in consequence of which the ship flew up to the wind, backed all the sails, and put us into imminent danger not only of losing our masts by thus broaching to, but of falling aboard some of our companions, we being at the time in the very midst of the Fleet : we however providentially escaped, only one of them, the *Metcalfe*, touching us and she very slightly, carrying away some of our light running rigging forwards. The accident arose from a strand of the tiller rope breaking which occasioned the remainder to jam in one of the blocks, thus

preventing it from traversing and the tiller from working. A tackle being quickly rigged in the gunroom to the tiller while a new rope was reeving, the evil was remedied, and within an hour all was once more set right. The panic had been general throughout the ship, and certainly such a circumstance occurring in a dark night, when blowing strong with a heavy sea and in the middle of a large Fleet, placed us in a most critical situation : our escaping without some serious disaster under such circumstances was deemed extraordinary.

Our Cape weather had not yet done with us. On the 5th it blew very strong, accompanied by a sea nearly as high and confused as any we had encountered during the month of May. At four in the afternoon an immense wave struck against the starboard quarter of the ship with such force as to beat in the whole sash frame of my quarter gallery, burst open the door, and in a few seconds fill my cabin with water. I happened at the time to be in the cuddy, or must have received a severe wetting. The dead lights were in consequence once more all fixed in, and continued so until the 8th when the weather became settled ; the sea materially decreased, and the dead lights were again removed. Every port, fore and aft, was also opened to give a free circulation of fresh air between decks.

Saturday, the 11th of June, by our dead reckoning we were within about twenty-four leagues of the Island of St. Helena. At seven in the morning of that day the *Monmouth* made the *Marquis Wellesley's* signal to run ahead of the Fleet, stand north-west and by west, and look out for the land. She accordingly made sail, and when nearly hull down made the signal for seeing St. Helena right ahead, distant about twenty leagues. The Commodore, after answering the signal, directed the *Marquis Wellesley* to continue her course with all possible dispatch, announce what the Fleet approaching was to the Governor which would prevent our being delayed while a boat went in and returned according to the common custom adopted upon any ship's touching at that island.

At noon we had the gratification of seeing the land from the deck, and never did I feel more pleasure than in beholding that little speck in the midst of an immense ocean. The distance was then so considerable that we had scarce a hope of getting in that day. At noon our latitude was sixteen degrees, six minutes south, and longitude four degrees, fifty-three minutes, west of Greenwich. By sunset we were within four leagues of the Island, expecting every moment to see the Commodore's signal to order the Fleet to heave to for the night, instead of which to our great surprize we observed that instead of shortoning he made more sail and stood on, the Fleet following as fast as they could. By the time we had got close under the land it was so dark we could not see a ship's length in any direction, nevertheless we stood on. Upon rounding a point which opened the valley in which the town stands, we steered by the lights in the houses. At eight o'clock at night we let go our best bower anchor, and in bringing up fell on board the *Earl Howe*, whereby we stove to pieces a boat that hung upon her quarter and at the same time knocked off some of the carved ornaments from the upper part of the quarter.

Upon thus being at anchor Captain Colnett immediately sent his purser on shore to secure lodgings for himself and me. While we were sitting at supper the purser returned informing us he had engaged apartments at Mr. Dunn's, the principal Surgeon of the Settlement, where we were also to mess. He brought us the gratifying intelligence of the safety of the *City of London*, that ship having arrived at the Island five days before the Fleet.

On Sunday morning I accompanied Captain Colnett on shore, taking with me my faithful Munnoo, and we took up our abode in very comfortable apartments at Mr. Dunn's. After an excellent dinner, at which we had abundance of fine fish of different sorts, and spending a cheerful evening, we retired to our respective bedchambers, and I enjoyed a better night's rest than I had done for several weeks. My health, however, altogether, was but indifferent. I was so extremely weak that the smallest exertion fatigued me

beyond measure ; nor could I without difficulty walk to the seaside although not a quarter of a mile distance from the house. We had Captain Bradford of the *Lord Duncan*, with Colonel Wood and some other of his passengers at Mr. Dunn's, sitting down, I think, twenty-eight in number, Mrs. Dunn presiding at the head of the table, the honours of which she performed with much credit to herself.

On Tuesday His Majesty's storeship *Abundance* came in from the Cape of Good Hope, bringing us an account of the arrival at that place of the three small transports that sailed in company with us from Ceylon, two of which the captain of the *Abundance* informed us had been in the most extreme danger of foundering during the tempestuous weather they encountered on the passage.

Thursday, the 16th of June, the Company's ship *Windham* came in from Bencoolen, having as passenger on board Mr. Ramus, a Bengal civilian, an old acquaintance of mine. From this gentleman I received the melancholy tidings of Mr. Thomas Parr's murder at Bencoolen, by the Malays of the Island. I had been particularly intimate with this unfortunate man from the time of his first coming to Bengal, and a more accomplished fine youth never lived. About the year 1800 he married Miss Roworth, sister to Thomas Roworth, Esquire, of Calcutta, a very amiable young lady : soon after which his health declining, he, with his wife and one child, went to Bombay for the benefit of sea air, which voyage not answering the object he proceeded to Europe, where in a couple of years, being perfectly restored to health, he returned to Bengal and there resumed his station in the Service.

Upon the Governor-General and Council being dissatisfied with the public conduct of Mr. Walter Ewer as Chief or Commissioner at the Factory of Fort Marlborough, as the British Settlement at Bencoolen was usually called, Mr. Parr was sent from Calcutta by the Supreme Government to take upon him that office, Mr. Ewer being ordered to relinquish it and return to Bengal. Mr. Parr's instructions from the Governor-General in Council were to put in force certain

new laws and regulations relative to the native inhabitants of the Settlement, which new laws, from the nature of them being considered highly tyrannical and oppressive, and not only so, but a gross infringement on what had always been deemed the established and indubitable right of the Malays, it was supposed that serious opposition would be made against carrying them into effect.

Mr. Ewer, upon his return to Calcutta from Bencoolen, in speaking upon this subject, told me he was certain from his knowledge of the dispositions of the Malays on that part of the coast, where they never forgot or forgave an injury, that if Mr Parr should attempt to enforce the regulations in question he would to a certainty lose his life, as the Malays would not hesitate about putting him to death, probably by openly and publicly murdering him, or if not so, by poisoning him. This opinion of Mr. Ewer's proved but too well founded. Mr. Parr did attempt to exact obedience to the orders he promulgated, and fell a sacrifice thereto.¹

The name of Robert Samuel Perreau, mentioned in the foregoing melancholy narration, was the eldest son of the unfortunate Robert Perreau, who with a twin brother Daniel Perreau, suffered death at the gallows, in London, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, or seventy-six, having been found guilty upon a charge of forgery. Upon that occasion the usual humanity and liberality of the English showed itself very conspicuously in a feeling of compassion for the offspring of the unhappy victims to the offended laws, and the family experienced every degree of commiseration. The above-named Robert Samuel, who at the time of his father and uncle's miserable exit, had just finished his education at Westminster School, was gratuitously appointed by the Board of Directors a writer in their Establishment of Bencoolen, to which Settlement he went out in the year one thousand seven hundred

¹ See reference in Notes at end to a narrative written by Capt. William Byram Cox, which the author sets out at this point, giving details of the murder of Mr. Parr and of the serious wounding of his wife, Mr. Robert Samuel Perreau being at the time the Superintending Resident of Marlborough. —ED

and seventy-seven. After remaining at Bencoolen about three years he obtained permission to visit Calcutta, where he established himself as a merchant and agent, and was supposed to be going on successfully until a natural disposition to embark in every sort of speculation led him to engage in the indigo line, in which either from a want of sufficient knowledge of the business, or from some unknown disasters, he finally and utterly failed, and became seriously involved. As he for several years bore the character of an honourable upright man, added to his family misfortune, he was received and noticed by the principal persons in the Settlement with the most marked kindness and attention.

The first cause of his character's being called in question was upon the discovery of a very considerable deficiency in his cash account as Secretary to an Insurance Company, which dilemma however the same liberality and indulgence, the same partial good opinion that had been universally entertained of him enabled him to surmount. The amount was made up and paid by his private friends. He nevertheless was soon afterwards so embarrassed in his circumstances as to make it necessary for him suddenly to abscond, and he secretly embarked for his original situation at Bencoolen, leaving a multitude of Creditors completely in the lurch, amongst whom I was a sufferer to the amount of more than five hundred pounds, being money I had advanced to Counsel and to the different officers of the Supreme Court in the progress of suits he was engaged in, I being his Solicitor—not a sixpence of which shall I ever receive, he having lately died at Bencoolen without leaving any property or at least that I can discover as attachable. A short time previous to my quitting Bengal, I wrote to him at Bencoolen to say I would very readily relinquish all my fees as an Attorney, if he would only reimburse me the amount I had actually advanced on his account, instead of doing which he wrote me a pert and insolent answer. Being out of the jurisdiction of any Court in which I could attack him, I had only the poor satisfaction of telling him by letter he was a despicable scoundrel, and deserved a

halter quite as much if not more than his father and uncle. It has been insinuated that he was privy not only to the opposition of the Malays to the regulations proposed to the system of growing coffee, but that he took an active part therein, and was well aware of the intended attack upon Mr. Parr's house, but whether such charge was well founded or not, I cannot take upon myself to say.

CHAPTER XXV

1808

A DETERMINED LUNATIC. RIOTOUS FRENCH PRISONERS. ARRIVAL IN THE DOWNS

AND now to return to our little Island of St. Helena. On Tuesday, the 17th of June, Captain King sent orders to the different Commanders of the ships under his convoy to be ready to depart the following evening, as he certainly should sail at sunset, Saturday, the 18th; we therefore dined at two instead of three o'clock, the whole party breaking up at four, in order to repair to their respective vessels. At sunset the *Monmouth*, according to Captain King's previous intimation, made the signal to unmoor, which was promptly attended to, but it falling quite calm we did not get under way until four o'clock in the morning of Sunday the 19th, when we left the Island with a fine fresh breeze at south-east.

St. Helena is much more beautiful and picturesque in sailing from it than in approaching towards it, as in departing you have in view the rich and fertile valley with a remarkably neat and handsome town as well as a variety of country houses and gardens in different directions, forming an interesting and agreeable landscape; whereas in approaching it you behold nothing but a bleak-looking desolate rock, without the smallest appearance of verdure or capability of cultivation. The climate of the Island is at all times of the year mild and delightful; nor do they scarcely ever experience any sort of bad weather; thunder or lightning rarely occurs, but they have heavy periodical rains. Four whalers and the *Abundance*, storeship, sailed

with us, making altogether a Fleet of nineteen ships. On the 24th we discovered the Island of Ascension, which we ran close to on the leeward side, being for near an hour within less than a mile of the beautiful beach formed by bright small shells, perfectly white. This Island, which is uninhabited and said to be without any fresh water upon it, is famous for the excellency of the turtle that constantly frequent it for the purpose of depositing their eggs, of which I have already given some account when stopping there in the *Plassey* in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy. The East India Company for several years back have forbid their ships touching there, it having been supposed to have been made a rendezvous for smuggling.

On the 28th a strange sail came in sight, which the *Abundance*, by signal from the *Monmouth*, was ordered to chase; towards the evening we could just discern that she had come up with and was speaking her. The following day the *Abundance* ran close alongside the *Castle Eden* and informed us the vessel he had chased the preceding day was a large Portuguese vessel from Madeira, last, and bound to the Brazils, having on board a great number of persons of different ranks in life, who in consequence of the distracted state of the Kingdom of Portugal, and the unwarrantable attack made upon it by that odious tyrant the Corsican usurper of France, Bonaparte, were emigrating and endeavouring to find for themselves a shelter in South America.

Thursday, the 30th, another strange sail appeared upon our lee bow, which the *Abundance* was likewise ordered to chase; she soon came up with and, after sending an armed boat on board, brought her with them under the quarter of the *Monmouth*, when the Commodore also sent a boat on board of her, and which we observed passed backwards and forwards, two or three different times. After making the strange sail stand the same course with the Fleet for two hours, she was dismissed to pursue her voyage. Captain King then, by telegraphic signals, communicated to his convoy the heads of the information he had gained from the

strange vessel, the principal of which was that the same Corsican Bonaparte had taken possession of the Kingdom of Spain, having previously inveigled the lawful Sovereign and his family within his clutches ; having effected which he compelled the wretched Monarch to abdicate his Throne and next, put a King of his own into the situation, being none other than a vagabond scoundrel brother named Joseph Bonaparte. Another piece of news was that the Rochfort Squadron had got out of port, having eluded the vigilance of our Blockading Squadron, as well as some other ships of war, whose particular province it was to watch the enemy's fleet in that harbour. This very unpleasant piece of information occasioned considerable alarm throughout our Fleet, and some of our desponding croakers began to look to all the horrors of a French prison.

Nothing material occurred until Sunday the 10th of July, when a very hard squall came on so suddenly and unexpectedly and with such extraordinary violence as in a few seconds to reduce several of the Fleet to considerable distress . Our ship at the time having her lee ports upon the gun deck open, took so deep a heel, being almost upon her beam ends, that the utmost apprehensions prevailed of her filling and going to the bottom, as had been the case with the *Royal George*, a first rate, at Portsmouth. Very fortunately, however, every sail that was set gave way to the violence of the wind, and the ship being thus relieved from the consequences of a pressure of canvas, recovered from her perilous state and righted. Such a circumstance occurring was the more inexcusable, because the approach of a severe gust of wind had been obvious for upwards of an hour previous to its actually bursting upon us ; so extraordinarily black and threatening was the sky to windward that I observed to our chief mate, Mr. Anderson, whose watch it was upon deck, that we were going to have " a Teazer," at the same time expressing some degree of surprize at no precautionary steps being taken to meet the evil, to which Mr. Anderson, with the utmost coolness, observed, that the ships to windward must be attacked in

the first instance and would afford ample time to the *Castle Eden* to do everything that might be requisite, besides which, he said, we had much less sail set than any other ship in the Fleet, consequently should not feel the force of a squall equally with those that had more canvas out.

In about five minutes after this conversation, the squall commenced with an absolute hurricane, attended by as heavy rain, thunder and lightning as ever I beheld. A scene of the utmost disorder and confusion ensued, officers and men appearing equally dismayed and at a loss what to do, running up and down without taking any measures to correct the evil. When I perceived that the squall must inevitably reach us in a few minutes, I quitted the deck with a view to secure everything I thought likely to fetch way in my cabin, although mine was the weather side. I had but just lowered down my port and shut the quarter gallery window, when the guns took us, which operated so forcibly upon the ship that I really conceived she must either upset or all the masts go over her side. I however crawled out and once more reached the deck, to witness the panic that prevailed. The squall lasted upwards of half an hour. When the clouds had exhausted their fury and the weather cleared up, every one of the Fleet appeared to have sustained more or less damage in sails and rigging; signals of distress were flying on board several of the ships, the *Airly Castle* in particular had lost her main and mizzen topmasts, and every sail was blown to atoms; the Commodore therefore ran down to her, and took her in tow, until they could repair their damage and get new topmasts up. Every sail that we had out was split, and our mizzen-topmast sprung, but we soon got other sails bent, though we could not use them, being obliged to wait for other ships that required more time to repair the injuries they had sustained.

On Friday the 29th the Surgeon's mate who had shipped himself for that station in Bengal, chiefly, as he said, with a view to obtaining a passage to Europe, which his finances would not allow him to pay for as a passenger, threw himself into the sea from the window of the larboard quarter

gallery with the intent of drowning himself. The natural attachment to life, however, so far prevailed that upon finding himself in the water and sinking, he availed himself of some little skill in swimming, and kept afloat until a boat that was lowered for the purpose reached him, and taking him up brought him on board. The account he gave of himself was that he was a German, who had been compelled against his inclination to act in his profession of a Surgeon in the French Army commanded by Bonaparte ; that being extremely ill-treated, hard-worked, and receiving no pay, he took an opportunity of making his escape, and entered on board an American ship bound to China, which ship was accidentally destroyed by fire in the Straits of Malacca, after which misfortune he, with infinite difficulty, got to Calcutta in a pariah sloop, where he was nearly starved, and he believed these complicated distresses had turned his brain. Certain it is that during the extreme bad weather we encountered off the Cape of Good Hope his behaviour was so wild and eccentric and he appeared so unusually terrified, that I more than once said to Mr. Powell, "Surely there is something very peculiar about that young German mate of yours, I cannot help thinking he is not quite right in the head," to which Mr. Powell replied, "I really am myself sometimes at a loss what to think of him. Upon observing his despondence I have frequently asked the cause, offering him any assistance in my power, but he has always declined, saying all would be well when he reached Europe, and that his malady was incurable, and constitutional." Mr. Powell further said that he was skilful in his profession as a surgeon.

At the time the man was picked up and brought on board he was much exhausted, and oppressed by the quantity of water he had taken into his stomach. He was immediately put to bed where the proper medicines were administered, which in twenty-four hours nearly restored him to health, the first use of which he made was to declare that there was no kindness in thus rescuing him from drowning, nor would he avail himself of it, being determined to quit a world in

which he had met with nothing but misfortunes and ill-treatment, and die he certainly would in spite of all human endeavours to prevent it. The following night, while lying in his cot, he not only cut his throat, but wounded himself severely across both his arms, with a surgical instrument he had secreted for the purpose, and such was his fortitude and determination that although his cot swung in the steerage, a very public part of the ship, and amidst a number of other persons, not the slightest groan or murmur of complaint was heard from him, nor was the rash act discovered until the blood having soaked through the bedding was seen running in streams along the deck. Mr. Powell being summoned to his assistance found him in nearly a fainting state from the great loss of blood. He, however, sewed up the neck and dressed the wounds in his arms, causing him to be removed to the lower deck close to the gunroom, where a space was divided off for the purpose, he being tied down and constantly watched, a sentry being placed over him, and relieved every two hours both day and night. In this dreary and dismal situation, the light of day never penetrating to that part of the ship, did the wretched creature remain during the remainder of the voyage, but to the extreme surprize of Mr. Powell, who had no expectation of his surviving the injury he had done himself, gradually recovered, and when the ship reached England, he was perfectly well in point of health, though raving mad. He was therefore landed and conveyed to a receptacle for lunatics, where I understand he has ever since remained.

On Sunday the 31st, at five in the afternoon, the passengers were alarmed by hearing that the French prisoners were all in a state of extreme intoxication, in consequence of celebrating one of their national festivals under the new system, and were disposed to be violently riotous; their behaviour causing a threat of putting them in irons, they instead of being checked or intimidated thereat became outrageous, using the most scurrilous and opprobrious language against the Captain and officers of the ship, as well as against every other person on board, swearing

that their turn was coming, when they would take ample vengeance and consign every villainous Englishman to a dungeon. Four of the most turbulent of these rascally Frenchmen were thereupon seized and had heavy fetters put upon their legs, which they, however, with the assistance of their comrades, soon ridded themselves of, and arming themselves with their long clasp knives (used for eating with), swore that they would put to death any person who should presume to touch one of their party. The second officer, Mr. Tyrer, in endeavouring to secure one of the most active of the fellows, received several very severe blows.

By this time it was nearly dark, and our situation became rather awkward, the motley crew appearing more disposed to join the obstreperous Frenchmen than to aid in subduing them. But the petty officers, especially the boatswain, standing forward in the most spirited manner, knocking down three or four of the Frenchmen with handspikes, the rest directly begged for mercy, throw away their knives and said they would submit, with the exception of two, who, being more drunk than their companions, set everybody at defiance. These two were therefore seized, bound hand and foot, and placed under a guard upon the poop, where, continuing to be excessively troublesome and noisy, they were gagged, a measure that soon brought them to their recollection; the others were placed partly in the long boat, and partly between deck, so as to prevent their caballing together, being guarded by steady men who could be confided in. So impudent were those villainous Frenchmen that notwithstanding their being thus coerced, they, without scruple, told the men placed over them, to keep a sharp look out for that, by God, they would avail themselves of the first opportunity that occurred to set fire to the ship. The following day, however, when they had slept off the effects of their excess, they became more civilized and were very humble; they were nevertheless continued under restraint during the remainder of the voyage.

For the first five days of the month of August we had

squally disagreeable weather, with almost incessant rain and uncommonly severe thunder and lightning, all which we were told arose from our being in the vicinity of the Western Islands where that sort of turbulent weather generally prevails. On the 8th it blew hard with a prodigious sea. At six in the morning the *Castlereagh* suddenly hove to, at the same time making the signal for a man's having fallen overboard, whereupon the *Monmouth* made the signal for the Fleet to heave to under topsails, which we accordingly did, thereby getting into the trough of the sea and tumbling about in the most horrible manner. As the evening approached the Fleet were a good deal dispersed, and the *Castle Eden* being at least five miles distant from the *Castlereagh* we could not ascertain the fact, but from her manœuvres it appeared that they did not recover the poor fellow. We were afterwards informed by Captain Murray that he not only lost the man that had fallen overboard, but that the boat which went in the hope of relieving him, unfortunately swamped, and all her crew perished.

The 9th the gale continued with extreme violence, the *Castle Eden* labouring from the immense sea, quite as much as she had at any time done when off the Cape of Good Hope.

On Wednesday the 10th, very early in the morning, a strange sail appeared upon our starboard quarter, bearing a very suspicious appearance, and we began to apprehend she belonged to the Rochfort Squadron, a number of signals being perceived flying on board her. Our people were in consequence all summoned upon deck and placed at their respective quarters, my station being with the small arms upon the poop. The Commodore ordered the *Abundance* to chase the stranger and look out sharp whether any other ships were in sight. She accordingly made sail in the direction of the strange vessel, who thereupon loosed her fore-topgallant sail, standing away before the wind, evidently to avoid the *Abundance*. In somewhat more than an hour, the weather again beginning to look very threatening, the Commodore made the signal to recall the *Abundance*, who

in obedience thereto rejoined the fleet without having been able to ascertain what the strange sail was, though they thought she hoisted an American ensign at her mizzen peak. They did not see any other vessel in any direction.

At two in the afternoon the Commodore who had run ahead of the Fleet, about three miles, communicated to his convoy that he had sounded and got ground with eighty-three fathoms of line, which announced our being in the *Chops* (as the phrase is amongst seamen) of the British Channel.

On the 11th the weather moderated again, although the sky still bore a windy and unsettled appearance. At ten in the morning the Commodore made the signal for the whole Fleet to heave to, which with some concern was obeyed, as all were anxious not to lose any of the westerly breeze that was then blowing. One of the Indiamen seeming disposed to stand on, the Commodore fired a shot at her which soon brought her to with the rest. A boat with a Lieutenant then came alongside the *Castle Eden* from the *Monmouth*, the officer desiring the ship's crew might be mustered, which being immediately done the officer observed that he should take away five men with him at present, but that when the ship had come to an anchor in the Downs, the Commodore proposed having five-and-twenty more. Captain Colnett answered to this that Captain King, having the power in his own hands, would of course proceed as he thought fit, but that he (Captain Colnett) should undoubtedly protest against such a number of his people being taken away which must endanger both ship and cargo, as in fact he was already very much undermanned, having fifteen less than his complement, and scarcely a real seaman amongst those he had.

The Lieutenant after some consideration contented himself with taking away with him the carpenter's mate (who was an excellent workman, but a sad drunken fellow), a very steady quartermaster, and one seaman. At one in the afternoon the *Monmouth* and the Fleet made sail and stood to the east-north-east, soon after doing which the

Commodore, and almost in the same moment the *City of London*, made the signal for seeing the land (the Islands of Scilly) from the masthead, bearing north-north-east. There were also two strange sail in sight, which we could see from the deck. Our latitude this day by an indifferent observation was forty-nine degrees, and thirty-five minutes north.

The 12th we had a light wind from the westward with very smooth water, but the weather dull and gloomy. At seven in the morning saw the Lizard, bearing east-north-east half east, distant about fifteen leagues: several sail in sight standing in different directions, some of which hoisted their colours in passing. One of them appeared to be a ship of the Line, but she did not come near or take the least notice of us. At nine a small cutter went alongside the *Monmouth*, and from her to the *Charlton*. At one in the afternoon one of our foremast men, of the name of Palston, who was standing upon a temporary stage the gunner had formed and hung over the stern for the purpose of painting the rails of the balcony and the great cabin windows, fell therefrom, owing to one of the ropes by which it was suspended giving way, into the sea, and though the ship was not then going more than three knots an hour through the water, which was perfectly smooth, and the lifebuoy being cast off and lowered, he immediately sunk to rise no more. The people of the *Metcalfe* (stationed on the fore-castle) which was within a quarter of a mile of us, and directly in our wake, instantly upon seeing the man fall gave the alarm, whereupon with an alacrity that did all concerned infinite credit, the ship was hove to and a boat in the water, but all in vain, the unfortunate creature never appeared.

In the middle of the night it began to blow strong from the westward and a high sea rose which made the ship roll a great deal. We had frequent violent squalls accompanied with heavy rain, but as we were running our course at a very quick rate we thought less of the badness of the weather.

On Saturday the 13th it blew excessively hard, with very dark and dismal weather and a continual drizzling rain. At eleven in the morning the *Abundance*, storeship, hauled in for the land, being bound for Portsmouth, and we soon lost sight of her. Several ships in sight beating down Channel being only able to carry their courses; indeed our Fleet, that were running before the wind, had treble-reefed topsails; yet in the midst of this tempest we were gratified by the sight of a small cutter running under our lee quarter, putting out a little boat that I, who was a very old cutter sailor, could not imagine would have lived a minute in such a sea running, and conveyed a pilot on board, who, though a very large man, upon a rope being thrown from the poop, scrambled up by it with the agility of a monkey. Having gained our quarter-deck he, with the utmost composure, asked if any of the passengers wished to go on shore, to which I could not help replying, "Good God, my friend, do you suppose we are lunatics? For mad indeed must any person be to think of such a conveyance as you offer." "Why not, master?" said he, "the *Grampus* would take you all on shore very comfortably, provided you do not mind wet jackets." Finding his oloquence was thrown away and that no person seemed disposed to try the merits of his *Grampus*, he hailed her, desiring his people to ask any of the other ships whether they had passengers to land and if not, make for Portsmouth before night. He then told us we were abreast of the Isle of Wight, and about eight leagues from it. He likewise informed us that a very large homeward bound Fleet from the West Indies had passed up Channel very early that morning.

This pilot took charge of the ship to conduct her into the Downs. At the time he came on board we were considerably ahead of the Commodore, who thereupon made the *Castle Eden* a signal to come into her station.

The old East Indians were greatly astonished, considering it was the month of August, to find the weather unpleasantly raw and cold.

Sunday the 14th the disagreeable blowing weather con-

tinued, and it proved bitter cold to us all, so much so that we should have been happy to have had a fire to warm ourselves at. At seven in the morning we saw Dungeness, the lighthouse, notwithstanding the thickness of the weather, being a conspicuous object. We continued running up along shore at a very brisk rate. At eleven we saw the South Foreland, and a little before twelve opened Dover cliff with the town beneath it. At this time the Commodore made the signal for the Fleet no longer to consider themselves under his orders, whereupon our pilot immediately made more sail. At half-past one in the afternoon we were off Dover, when a lieutenant in a yawl belonging to a sloop of war laying at anchor off the town, boarded us, requiring the pilot forthwith to heave to, which peremptory and tyrannical order he was compelled to yield to. He next insisted upon seeing the muster roll of the ship's company, and that all hands should be called. This being opposed by Captain Colnett produced much disagreeable altercation and threatening on the part of the naval hero. All the arguments used by our Commander were unavailing, the Lieutenant stuck to his text that he was acting under the orders of his superior officer and would carry those orders into effect as far as lay in his power, regardless of the consequences, upon which he did not think it necessary to bestow a thought, adding in a true seamanlike strain, "Let them look out that's got the watch."

After detaining us until past four in the afternoon the Lieutenant descended into his boat, taking with him twenty-two of our ship's company, in spite of Captain Colnett's repeatedly telling him he would by so doing make himself responsible for upwards of two hundred thousand pounds, the value of the ship and cargo, the Lieutenant still answering, "Orders, Captain, orders! I am bound to be obedient to my superiors! Let them look out that's got the watch!"—pointing with his hanger to the sloop he belonged to. At about five in the afternoon we let go our best bower anchor in the Downs, whereupon Mr. and Mrs. Todd and most of our passengers left the ship. But a Deal

pilot, who was an old agent of Captain Colnett's, just then coming on board the *Castle Eden*, and finding the Commander of her, interested himself very much about me, he strongly recommended my remaining where I was for at least twenty-four hours longer, as there was not a horse to be had in Deal, nor should I be able to procure a place to put my head in, every room being occupied by the passengers who had arrived that morning from the West Indies, and many of whom were still waiting for conveyances to carry them from thence towards London. Upon receiving this intimation I resolved to remain contentedly on board the *Castle Eden*.

Upon our arrival in the Downs we found a large Fleet riding at anchor there of His Majesty's ships, with three different Admirals' flags flying. In the afternoon of this day I received a letter from my sister Ann congratulating me upon my safe arrival and requesting that upon my reaching London I would drive to Stevens's Hotel, situate at the corner of Bond Street and Clifford Street. On Monday, the 15th of August, 1808, at noon, I took my final leave of the *Castle Eden*, having previously, upon the recommendation of Captain Colnett, delivered all the shawls and other articles of India manufacture I had brought with me from Bengal, to his pilot, who engaged to have them conveyed to my address in London, upon my undertaking to pay twenty-five per cent upon the value of the goods, such value to be fixed by myself. I had, however, received a cautionary hint to put a fair value upon them, as if I did not, the smuggler would very likely retain them for his own emolument, and pay me the amount of the deteriorated value I had fixed upon them. This engagement the pilot very faithfully and honourably adhered to, the articles being all brought to me in London for which I paid near fifty pounds.

I could not leave the ship in which I had been treated with the utmost degree of kind attention by every person on board, especially by her Commander, without feelings of respect and gratitude. The small part of the crew that

remained on board did me the honour of giving three cheers upon my leaving her side, which we in the pilot boat very heartily returned. It blew very strong from the westward at the time we left the ship, and notwithstanding the sun shone bright, my favourite Bengallee, Munnoo, as well as myself, found it disagreeably cold, and were glad to avail ourselves of the pilot's dreadnought, alias boat cloak.

CHAPTER XXVI

1808-1809

THE JOURNEY TO LONDON. VISITING MRS. BURKE
AND LADY RUSSELL. SCANDALOUS CONDUCT
OF THE CUSTOM-HOUSE. SETTLING DOWN AT
BEACONSFIELD

UPON landing at Deal I was conducted by the people of the boat to my old house of entertainment, the Hoop and Griffin Inn, where I had been lodged when going out to the West Indies, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five. A large trunk of clothes that I brought on shore with me was carried up to the house without any interruption whatsoever, either by Custom House officers or others, a circumstance I never could account for, although as the case was I had scarcely an article within it that could have been attached by the most rigid observer of his duty. I found what the pilot had stated as the fact to Captain Colnett, respecting the situation of the town of Deal, to be perfectly correct, for even at the time I landed the place was quite full of persons anxious to leave it, but who could not obtain a horse or conveyance of any kind.

Colonels Wood, Black, and Eales, Major Dawson and several other gentlemen told me they had been compelled to take up their night's lodging upon the carpet of the room in which we then were, not a bed being to be procured in the whole town, so that I had acted prudently in taking the pilot's counsel by remaining on board the *Castle Eden*. Many of the passengers had, however, got away that morning, and the rest expected to do so by six o'clock in the evening, when it was supposed the poor wretched

horses, worked and worn out as they were, might be able to drag them one stage

The gentleman that I found in the house and I dined together, sitting down to a very well-covered table, at two o'clock, and pushing the bottle merrily about until their respective carriages were announced as ready, when the bill was called, paid for, and they departed. I then sallied forth to walk about that town that I had more than once before done the same in, when about to leave England with, of course, a heavy heart. Entering a fruiterer's shop, I tasted some cherries and currants, both of which I thought execrably bad, and upon expressing my opinion the master of the shop said they were out of season, but that he could confidently recommend some peaches, which he produced and I thought insipid and bad ; however, as I was resolved not to appear dissatisfied with everything, I pronounced them good. After walking about until nine o'clock I returned to the inn, where I sat down to a supper I had ordered for the benefit of the house, but leaving it untouched I retired to a bed-chamber where I really enjoyed sinking into a fine soft feather bed, when I in a few minutes fell into a profound and comfortable sleep, from which I did not awake until four o'clock when, looking at my watch and knowing that I had ordered a chaise and four horses to be ready at five, I immediately rose, dressed myself, and at the appointed time to a minute, myself and Munnoo were seated in the chaise and set off tantivy for Canterbury, which city I reached before seven o'clock. There I intended to take an early breakfast. I therefore ordered coffee, and while it was preparing, desired a chaise might be made ready to carry me on. During my breakfast I told the waiter to hasten the hostlers as I was anxious to get on, whereupon the master of the house made his appearance with a number of bows, expressing his concern that I should be delayed, but there was not a single horse in his stable, though he was in momentary expectation of many returning and that I might depend upon having the first four that came home. As I knew there could be no use in complaining,

and that I was without remedy, I merely said he ought to have told me so when I arrived, instead of answering my order for a chaise onward to London, with a "Yes, sir," as he had done. I certainly felt extremely disappointed and angry.

While standing at a window that fronted the street looking at the passengers, I saw Colonel Green of the Bengal Artillery, who had come home in the Fleet with me, being on board the *Lord Duncan*, pass by accompanied by two fine boys. Upon seeing me he stopped and entered into conversation, telling me his companions were his sons by a native of Hindostan; that he had sent them to England about four years before, and his Agent had placed them at an Academy at Canterbury. He said he had come the evening before from Deal on horseback, and meant to stay that and the following day with his sons, and then proceed to London. By way of beguiling the time I sallied forth to walk about the town with Colonel Green, and felt happy at being instrumental in prevailing upon him to present each of his sons with a handsome watch, for which purpose we entered a jeweller's shop, the Colonel very liberally saying I should fix upon a watch for each of them, which I did fairly between the parties, fixing upon neat watches without being particularly extravagant, the boys appearing contented and happy. I had scarcely finished this little matter of business when a waiter from the inn entered the shop in great haste to say a chaise was ready to proceed with me, whereupon I took a hasty leave of Colonel Green and his boys, and returned to the inn, where I stepped into a chaise with four capital horses that by their rate of going did not seem to be at all affected at having already been a stage. They carried me from Canterbury to Sittingbourn in an hour and a quarter.

At Sittingbourn I proved as unlucky as I had been at Canterbury, the landlord of The Rose, the house I stopped at, with much civility lamenting that he had no horses except the four I then saw walking to cool, having just returned from Rochester, but that in a couple of hours

after being well cleaned and fed they would carry me on admirably well. As I had intended to take my dinner at this place the delay became the less material. At three o'clock I sat down to as well-dressed a dinner as I ever saw, consisting of delicious smelts, which I thought quite equal to our famous Bengal Mango fish, a tender high-flavoured fowl, some exquisite lamb chops, and a currant tart, which last-named dish my friend Munnoo demolished and pronounced it exquisite.

Before I had finished my wine the landlord came into the room to say the horses were ready to proceed with me whenever I pleased. At four I left Sittingbourn fully intending to go on to London, but by the time I reached Dartford, about eight in the evening, I had so excruciating a headache that I resolved to stop there for the night. Ordering, therefore, a boiled chicken for my supper, which by the by I did not touch, I drank a glass of Madeira negus, and at a little after nine went to bed where I slept admirably well. At six in the morning of Wednesday the 17th, Munnoo and myself resumed our seats in the chaise with four uncommonly fine-looking horses. I had anticipated some pleasure from the delight I expected Munnoo would betray upon first beholding the splendid capital of England, as I hoped he would do from the commanding eminence of Shooter's Hill, but alas, when we reached that beautiful spot, the weather, notwithstanding it was the month of August, proved so unfavourable that instead of the noble spectacle of the Metropolis we had so thick a fog as to prevent our seeing half a mile in any direction.

While going over Blackheath, being very near the Green Man Inn, which stands upon the brow of a steep hill going down to Deptford, another chaise and four passed us at full speed, whereupon my post-boys, not choosing to be outdone by the horses of a rival house at Dartford, set out at an equal rate; but as I had no inclination to run the risk of having my neck broke by galloping down such a hill as I knew we were approaching, I called to the post-boys to draw up, which they reluctantly did, and at which my friend Munnoo

was exceedingly indignant, saying to me with much earnestness, when I was calling to the boys not to drive at such a rate, "Mud Monakurra mud monakurra! Sahab, kiswasteo ni Geldee Jata! boto atcha Geldee Jata!" which is in English, "Don't prevent their going on, it is very pleasant to go fast."

At eight o'clock I reached Stevens's Hotel, which I found to be exactly opposite my Aunt Boulton's house. At ten, I had the happiness of once more embracing my sisters, after an absence of nearly twenty-seven years, when I believe our surprize was mutual at finding the wear and tear of time, for when last together we were all in the prime of life, but now alas! miserable, old, and comparatively debilitated poor creatures.

In an hour after our thus meeting, my sisters with my three female cousins went in search of lodgings for me, and soon returned telling me they had taken a handsome first and second floor in Albemarle Street which they hoped would in every respect please me. These apartments myself and my sisters took possession of that afternoon.

The 19th I had set apart for visiting my highly valued and respected friend Mrs. Burko, at Beaconsfield, but just as I and my sisters were getting into a post-chaise for that purpose, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, I received a note from Lady Russell wherein she observed that having heard of my arrival she had immediately ordered her carriage and come to town for the purpose of seeing me, intending to return home the following morning. Upon receiving this unexpected summons, I desired my sisters to return into the house, sent for a hackney coach and drove to Mr. Lloyd's in Norfolk Street in the Strand, where Lady Russell had dated her note from. The meeting between us proved a truly melancholy one, for her Ladyship was in the deepest affliction at the recent death of her eldest daughter, a very lovely and accomplished girl of nineteen years of age, for whom she was then in deep mourning. After upwards of an hour's conversation I was obliged to mention the engagement I was under to Beaconsfield, and took my

leave, promising very soon to go down and spend some days at her Ladyship's country house in Surrey.

This unlooked-for meeting with Lady Russell made it considerably past one before I got back to Albemarle Street, and I was uneasy at the idea of keeping Mrs. Burke waiting for us, understanding from my sisters that her invariable hour for dining was four, but by adding another pair of horses and promising the post-boys some additional shillings if they used dispatch, we got on rapidly, changed horses at Uxbridge, and reached Butler's Court a very few minutes after four o'clock, where I had the happiness to find the worthy mistress of the mansion looking remarkably well and in excellent spirits, although confined to her couch from a long confirmed rheumatism which nearly deprived her of the use of her legs. After spending that and the next day at Butler's Court, my sisters and self returned to our Albemarle Street apartments.

The following week I went to Lady Russell's at Hookwood, near Sevenoaks, where I passed three days very agreeably with her and her charming family, amongst whom were my little Bengal friends, George and Rose.

Having been advised to employ Messieurs Martyr and Evans, two clerks belonging to the East India House in Leadenhall Street, who made it their special business under the avowed sanction of the Directors, to clear the baggage of passengers through the various offices, I accordingly applied to those two gentlemen, and in the course of a few weeks they sent the whole of my baggage to my lodgings in Albemarle Street, with what struck me as an exorbitant amount for so clearing them, the particulars of which were, however, very regularly stated in writing. One article of their account above all the rest went extremely against the grain with me to submit to. This was forty odd pounds charged for duties, etc., in clearing the portraits of certain of my friends that I brought with me from Bengal and which portraits Mr. Chinnery, the artist, had with infinite care packed up and prepared for the voyage in such a manner as to prevent almost the possibility of their sustaining the slightest injury,

at least from any common casualty. The tin case in which he had put them was literally beaten to pieces, for notwithstanding there was a lid to such case, which might have been taken off without the smallest trouble, or difficulty, they preferred from sheer mischief, I must suppose, committing the equally unnecessary as it was unwarrantable violence. The scoundrel Custom-house officers chose not only to batter the tin case to pieces, but instead of taking off the pictures gradually, one by one in the manner Mr. Chinnery had particularly directed, and the necessity of observing which instructions I had pointed out to these sanctioned clerks Martyr and Evans, actually tore them violently from the roller without caring whether there was one, two, or more of them together, whereby every one of them was more or less damaged, and three completely and irreparably ruined. Yet for receiving them even in this scandalous and mutilated state, I was charged upwards of forty pounds, and that under the infamous and false pretext of their being foreign pictures, under which description they were prohibited, and had of course been seized and condemned, after which condemnation they had been put up to public auction and were there *purchased* for me at the prices specified in the account, though I do not believe a man could have been found within His Majesty's dominions who would have given twenty shillings for the whole lot of them, damaged and defaced as they were.

The most infamous part of the transaction, as I consider it, was the presuming to denominate these pictures *foreign*, and why? Because painted out of England! There is, it seems, an old Act of Parliament, evidently made for the encouragement and benefit of British artists, by discountenancing the works of painters in other countries when exposing such works for sale at an English market. There is, therefore, under the said Act, so high a duty affixed upon the importation of foreign pictures into Great Britain as to amount in fact to a prohibition, and the Legislature in framing such Bill, clearly had it in contemplation to refer only to those pictures painted upon the

Continent, or in any part of the world not under the British Government, and by Italian, French, Dutch, German, or other foreign artists.

Now what was the case with respect to these pictures of mine ? They had been executed in a British Settlement, by different artists, but all of them Englishmen constantly living under English law. The persons represented were all subjects of Great Britain, holding offices of trust under our Government, and these paintings were executed for and paid for by me who am likewise a Briton born and bred. Moreover, the canvas upon which the paintings were made, the colours, oils, and even the very hair pencils used in the work were all of British manufacture, and after all they were conveyed to Europe in an English East India ship. Nothing *foreign* from beginning to end in the whole transaction ! Under such circumstances is it not preposterous, is it not most unreasonable to pronounce such pictures to be *foreign* ! So indignant did I feel upon the occasion that I had a great inclination to have the construction of the Act of Parliament discussed in a Court of Law by refusing to submit to what then struck me and still strikes me as a gross robbery, a most palpable imposition ; but my friends dissuaded me from entering into litigation on the question with the strong arm and purse of the Government against me, especially as such a contest must at any rate be attended with a considerable expence to myself. One of these well-meaning advisers assured me that the question had already been tried in a Court of Law by a gentleman who entertained the same opinion that I did of the construction of the Act of Parliament, and therefore resisted payment of the duties demanded, the pictures being under precisely the same circumstances that mine were, but that he had failed, it being determined that they must be considered as foreign paintings, and consequently come within the meaning of the Act ! But that such a decision ever has taken place in any one of His Majesty's Courts of Judicature I cannot believe, because notwithstanding there are those that cavil at the system of British Jurisprudence in several particulars,

I contend for it that law and common sense generally go together.

As my annual income was so limited, I had some thoughts of fixing my abode in Yorkshire, in which county my late Bengal partner, Mr. Benjamin Turner, resided, having built a house in the town of Doncaster, where he described every article of life as being full twenty per cent cheaper than in London and its vicinity, tho important one of coals not costing a third of the price in the metropolis. Upon a second visit to Beaconsfield, however, I found my sisters so desirous of remaining near their long-tryed friend, Mrs. Burke, that I resolved to establish myself in her neighbourhood, and accordingly took a house in that town, which I entered upon in the month of December.

The first English winter, the effects of which upon my shattered and debilitated frame I had thought of with considerable alarm, went over admirably, and although that season was generally pronounced to be an unusually severe one, I did not regard it, walking about without a great coat when I saw my London friends muffled up as if in Lapland, in short, the cold was in no manner unpleasant to me.

In February, 1809, I purchased a pony, from which period I used much exercise both by riding and walking to the great surprize of my India friends, who knew that in Bengal I took little or no exercise after I parted with my house at Chinsurah. I was, however, still annoyed by headaches, and sometimes comparatively slight attacks of my old disagreeable nervous sensations, that are not easily described, but exceedingly distressing to those afflicted with them. Headache was my most frequent tormentor. But in all my maladies I had the kindest and most affectionate assistance of Doctor Ferris, a man as distinguishedly able in his profession of physic, as universally marked round the neighbourhood by the general benevolence of his disposition, and yielding his medical aid to every description of person that ever stood in need of it.

Doctor Ferris must be an acquisition to any place wherein he resided, and it is to be lamented that his abilities are con-

finod to so trifling a place as Beaconsfield, and its vicinity, which however is his own choice. He is a man of deep erudition and in every way accomplished, yet of the most mild and unassuming manners. Mrs. Ferris, his wife, is likewise a most amiable woman, and I cannot but consider myself as peculiarly fortunate in meeting with so estimable a pair.

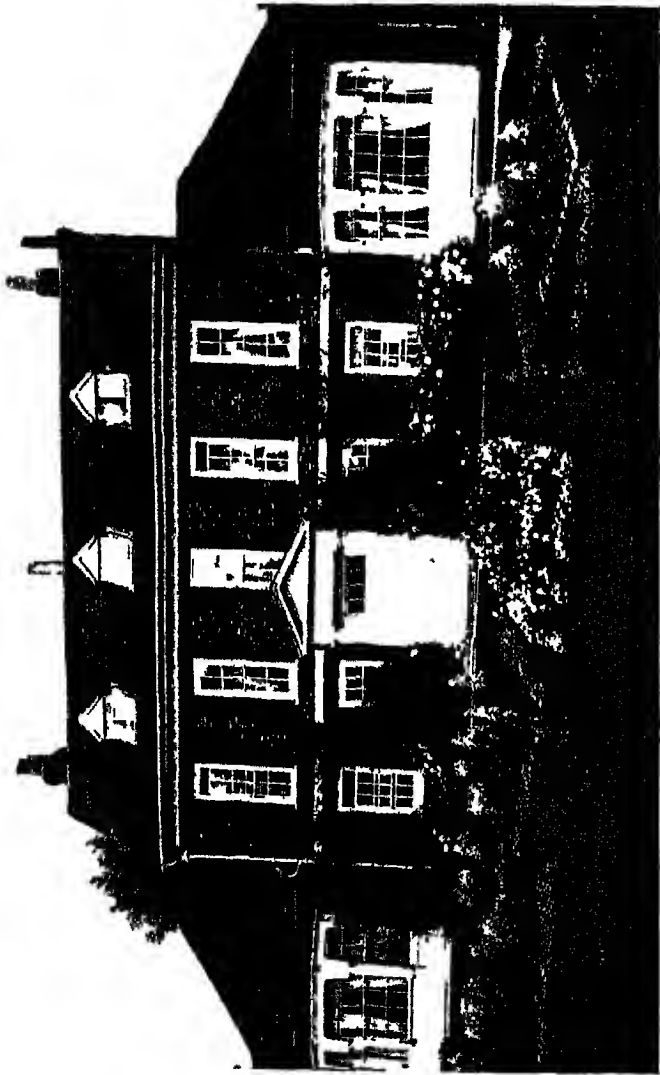
In the month of February my favourite Munnoo, without the least hint or solicitation on my part upon the subject, expressed an earnest desire to be made a Christian. I had upon first coming to Beaconsfield put him to school to be taught to read and write; his schoolmaster, having made the Catechism the first object, probably turned his thoughts that way. I therefore applied to the Reverend Mr. Bradford, Curate of the place, who very kindly furnished him with the books requisite to give him all the necessary information previous to becoming a member of the Church of England, and as the boy was extremely zealous, he soon entitled himself to receive baptism, which ceremony was performed in the church of Beaconsfield, by Mr. Bradford, his sponsors being myself, a man-servant of mine, and my sister Sarah. Upon this occasion I thought it would be as well to anglify his name a little, and therefore instead of Munnoo, I had him designated in the parochial register, "William Munnew."

In March I engaged to take upon lease from the then ensuing Michaelmas, a pretty cottage called Little Hall Barn, being the property of Edmund Waller, Esquire, a lineal descendant of the celebrated poet of that name, which premises were adjoining to and a part of his own magnificent seat of Hall Barn. I spent my time very agreeably, going in rotation to the houses of different friends, and usually running up to London once in six weeks or thereabouts, continuing in town for eight or ten days, my residence being at Stevens's Hotel in Clifford and Bond Streets.

As it was the fashion of the time for all those recently returned from the East Indies to take an early trip to

Cheltenham, with a view of getting quit of all lurking bile and correcting the debility supposed to arise from living in so sultry a climate, by the efficacious springs of that place, and many of my acquaintances were constantly reminding me of the necessity of following the general example, I deemed it no more than common civility to comply with what was so strongly urged by visiting Cheltenham, for which place I accordingly departed, on the 2nd of May, being accompanied by my sister Ann, and my faithful Munnew. As the weather was unusually cold for the season, having frost almost every morning, we travelled leisurely, slept the first night at Burford, and reached Cheltenham about noon of the 3rd of May, where we found a very comfortable house ready prepared, having written from Beaconsfield to a Mrs. Williams to engage one. Here I found my former partner, Mr. Turner, who had come to try the effects of the waters upon his eldest daughter Finella, she being in an indifferent state of health. We were, of course, much together.

The first morning of going to the wolls I just took a sip of the water, and not at all liking it, never after let a drop of it pass my lips. My sister, on the contrary, gave it a very fair trial, drinking it regularly, and in proper quantities, but without deriving any advantage, neither did Mr. Turner or his daughter find any benefit from it; on the contrary, he said it brought on headache, a pain he had never known before. At this celebrated watering-place, among other India friends I met with Mr. James Agg, a shipmate on board the *Seahorse*, Captain Arthur, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, he having gone out as one of Colonel Watson's assistants. Upon the failure of the Colonel's plan of establishing docks in Bengal, he procured for Mr. Agg a commission in the Corps of Engineers, at which he was the head, in which situation Mr. Agg acquiring a handsome independence, he about the year one thousand eight hundred and two resigned the Company's service and returned to England, where he settled in his native place Cheltenham, and soon after his arrival pur-



LITTLE HALL BAR\ THE HOUSE AT BEACONSFIELD IN WHICH THE MEVOIRS
WERE WRITTEN

chased a beautiful house with a considerable quantity of land belonging to it, situate on an eminence about two miles from the town. He was besides in the Commission of the Peace and Deputy-Lieutenant of the County, all which must have been peculiarly gratifying to him, who had been brought up in the town, from a very humble stock, his father having been a common hard-working stone-mason in Cheltenham.

After spending a month at Cheltenham, during which I made excursions to Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and other places in that part of the country, my sister left it to proceed to Malvern, where I had received a very kind invitation to pass some time with James Laird, Esquire, Surgeon of the *Seahorse*, when I was on board of her, who subsequently made a moderate fortune in the Company's service at Bengal, with which he returned home, having previously married a niece of General Ellerker's, and settled at Malvern, soon after which he got a great acquisition of fortune by the death of his elder brother, the worthy Doctor John Laird, who left him everything he possessed. Mr. Laird received and entertained us with much cordiality during three days, and would willingly have continued it longer had we been disposed to avail ourselves of his proffered hospitality. From Malvern we went to Worcester, where we stopped to see the different manufactures of china, etc., and then proceeded homeward, which we reached the 6th of June.

In the month of September (Michaelmas Day) I entered Little Hall Barn upon a seven years' lease, where I have set myself quietly down most probably for the remainder of my life. Here I work hard in the garden, continuing my daily rides or walks, and sometimes both; occasionally varying the scene by excursions to London, though compelled to be more attentive to disbursements than heretofore, the little stock of ready money I brought home or found ready for me on my arrival in England, consisting of the one thousand pounds already mentioned in Mr. Macnaghten's hands, and about eight hundred pounds

more, had in bills at short sights, being all expounded, my sole reliance consequently being nine hundred and twenty pounds per annum, the interest upon the sum I left deposited in the Company's Treasury at Calcutta, which amount is so irregularly paid as to render it exceedingly disagreeable, the irregularity arising from the frequent loss of the Bills of Exchange transmitted, for unhappily since my return to England no less than seven homeward-bound East Indiamen have foundered at sea, and all on board perished.

The names of these disastrous vessels were *The Experiment*, *The Glory*, and the *Lord Nelson* of one Fleet, and the *Calcutta*, the *Lady Jane Dundas*, the *Bengal*, and the *Jane Duchess of Gordon* of the immediately next fleet. Most unfortunately all these ships were full of passengers. Several of those on board the *Calcutta* had been peculiarly marked by misfortune, as the following brief remarks will too fully verify. One of them was Mrs. Arnott, the disconsolate widow of my poor murdered shipmate, Frederick Maitland Arnott, whose mangled body was conveyed to her gloomy place of residence, in a wild jungly part of the country where she had not a single European of any description within twenty miles of her habitation, nor a single soul about her capable of administering the smallest degree of comfort or condolence under such a grievous and lamentable misfortune: this wretched woman being thus left in the house with the mutilated corpse of a husband she was doatingly fond of. Another female in the same ship was the equally unhappy Mrs. Parr, whose husband Mr. Thomas Parr had likewise been cruelly massacred as already stated at Bencoolen by the Malays, at which sad occurrence she was herself dreadfully out and maimed in her zealous endeavours to shield and save him from the merciless hands of his destroyers. Having, contrary to the expectations of her medical attendants, survived the dreadful wounds she received upon that melancholy occasion, she took her passage for England with her two children, on board the *Calcutta*. A third sufferer in this unlucky ship was Mrs. Scott, the

daughter, or niece, I am not sure which, of my friend Mr. Evans of Calcutta, who with her said father and either a niece or daughter of his, suffered shipwreck in the *Abergavenny*, East Indiaman, on board which they had embarked at Portsmouth for Bengal, she being cast away near the Island of Portland, upon which disastrous event many of the ship's crew, officers, and passengers perished. This lady with her two relations being miraculously preserved by one of the ship's boats into which they were put and, notwithstanding a very rough and boisterous sea, reached the land in safety, a twelvemonth after which event, she had the fortitude once more to embark for Bengal which, after encountering a great deal of bad weather, she reached in safety, and in a few months became the wife of Mr. William Scott, a young man of superior talents and great promise who was rapidly rising to eminence in the Company's civil service.

Soon after their marriage they were proceeding by water to a station to which he had been appointed up the country, While on their passage, Mr. and Mrs. Scott were suddenly called in the middle of the night by some of their servants and told that the pinnace was sinking, a piece of information they had too much reason to believe true from seeing the water rush violently into the cabin in which they were. They thereupon instantly rose, got out of the cabin windows into one of the attendant boats that came alongside to receive them, and had not quitted the pinnace above two minutes when she went to the bottom, the accident arising from one of her planks starting, and that in a part of the river where the stream was running at the rate of six miles an hour. Shortly after this escape Mr. Scott's health became so bad that his physicians pronounced it absolutely necessary that he should leave India as affording the only chance of his recovery. He in consequence of such opinion took a passage for himself and wife on board the unfortunate *Calcutta*.

The following is a list of the passengers on board the four ill-fated vessels: In the *Calcutta*, commanded by Captain

Maxwell—these dashed under having all been most intimate and particular friends of mine—Mrs. Parr, Mrs. Arnott, Mr. and Mrs. Scott, Thomas Browne, Esquire, Bryant Mason, Esq., F. Mason his eldest son, E. A. Cuthbert, Esquire, Major W. Fraser, The Reverend Paul Linrick, William Logan, Esquire, Francis Fulton, Esquire, Mr. James Seaton, Mr. C. C. Holt, late purser of the *Holstein*. Children : Two Parrs, C. F. G. Philpot, J. J. Gillanders, James Watson, C. D. Cunyngham, Robert Cunyngham, A. Haig, J. Forbes.

In the *Bengal*, commanded by Captain Sharpe, Mrs. Moore and six children ; Mrs. Castell, Mrs. Levin, John Taylor, Esquire, Mr. Barnett, Mr. F. W. Nyholme. Children : C. Barton, George Broders, Thomas Barnet, J. P. Lennox, and R. Dunn.

In the *Lady Jane Dundas*, commanded by Captain Eckford, Lieutenant J. M. Robinson, His Majesty's 14th Regiment, Mr. Kennett, Mr. Francis Bristow. Children : William Dovaynes Wintle, Emily Wintle, Augusta Wintle, and Harriet Wintle. From Madras : Lieutenant-General Hay Macdoual, Mrs. Orr and two children, Mrs. Macpherson, Lieutenant-Colonel Orr, Captain W. Macpherson, His Majesty's 12th Regiment, Captains W. Beauman, J. G. Bellingham, 8th Native Infantry, Daniel Crawford, Esq., George Toshack, Esq.

In the *Jane Duchess of Gordon*, commanded by Captain Cameron, Mrs. Hope and four children, Mrs. Hurdis, Major W. Barston, His Majesty's 69th Regiment, Captain Thomas Young, 12th Native Infantry, Captain J. Wilson, 3rd Native Infantry, Captain Lieutenant H. Davie, 8th Native Infantry, Captain Charles Sankeys, His Majesty's 67th Regiment, Lieutenant G. Bradley, Engineer, Lieutenant James Duff, Lieutenant Manders, Ensigns Todd, Fell, and Dalziel, John Hayos, Esq., J. P. Moore, Esq., Mr. W. Hope. Children : Thomas Blythe, John and Edward Campbell, W. Ravenshaw, John and Ann Hay, and Selina Barrow.

GLOSSARY

The Author has in the Text explained the meaning of some
of these Terms.

<i>Adault</i>	.	.	a Court of Justice for native cases.
<i>Aubdar</i>	.	.	a servant in charge of wines who attends with them at table
<i>Ballatee Bahaudur</i>	.	.	a foreign (European) booster.
<i>Bandy</i>	.	.	a cart.
<i>Bang</i>	.	.	an intoxicating drug.
<i>Bangy</i>	.	.	a carrier of parcels.
<i>Banian</i>	.	.	a superintendent of servants.
<i>Bankeshall</i>	.	.	(1) office of Harbour Master or other Port authority; (2) warehouse
<i>Bceetes</i>	.	.	a water carrier.
<i>Begah</i>	.	.	a quantity of land : about one-third of an acre.
<i>Bobbahee Kemsah</i>	.	.	a cooking boat.
<i>Budgeow</i>	.	.	a pleasure boat with oars.
<i>Burra sahib</i>	.	.	a great man.
<i>Catamaran</i>	.	.	a native boat.
<i>Chatta</i>	.	.	an umbrella.
<i>Chubdar</i>	.	.	an attendant who carries a silver stick or mace.
<i>Chunam</i>	.	.	a mixture of lime and other materials—mortar.
<i>Cranny</i>	.	.	a clerk.
<i>Consumah</i>	.	.	a steward.
<i>Cutchia</i>	.	.	mud.
<i>Dandies</i>	.	.	boatmen.
<i>Dauk.</i>	.	.	the mail post—to travel in stages by palankeen or in vehicles.
<i>Doorea</i>	.	.	a sweeper.
<i>Dubash</i>	.	.	a general steward.
<i>Dustah conmah</i>	.	.	office.
<i>Durwan</i>	.	.	door or gate keeper.
<i>Fanam</i>	.	.	a small Indian coin value about 1½d.
<i>Faquir, Fouquir</i>	.	.	a religious mendicant.
<i>Fringes, Feringes</i>	.	.	foreigners, Europeans.
<i>Godown</i>	.	.	storehouse, warehouse.
<i>Hackery</i>	.	.	a covered vehicle drawn by buffaloes.
<i>Haramsada</i>	.	.	illegitimate son—a term of reproach.
<i>Ilavildar</i>	.	.	a sergeant in the native troops.
<i>Hircarraah</i>	.	.	a running footman or messenger.
<i>Hookah bedah</i> or <i>burdar</i>	.	.	a pipe bearer.

<i>Jemadar</i>	(1) head of the hircarrahs, (2) a native officer of inferior rank.
<i>Katmudar</i>	a table servant.
<i>Kittareen</i>	a one-horse chaise.
<i>Ladione</i>	thief.
<i>Lol shob</i>	red wine—claret.
<i>Looties</i>	bandits.
<i>Mangee</i>	the master or steersman of any native river-craft.
<i>Maroons</i>	runaway slaves.
<i>Masulah</i>	boat constructed for riding the surf.
<i>Mater</i>	an under servant, a sweeper.
<i>Maulley</i>	a gardener.
<i>Mehanna</i>	a middle-sized palankeon.
<i>Moonshee</i>	a teacher—interpreter.
<i>Musnud</i>	the large cushion used by native princes in place of a throne.
<i>Mussaulgee</i>	a torch bearer.
<i>Paunceway</i>	a Bengal passenger boat.
<i>Peons</i>	servants or soldiers of low rank.
<i>Sampan</i>	a Chinese boat.
<i>Settringes</i>	check or striped carpets made of cotton.
<i>Serang</i>	a boatswain or master of boat.
<i>Sice</i>	a groom.
<i>Sircar</i>	a superintending Hindu servant.
<i>Sudar bearer</i>	head of the bearers—keeper of the master's wardrobe.
<i>Soubahdur</i>	native officer holding rank of captain.
<i>Swarry, sowary</i>	retinue - customary attendants.

THE HICKEY FAMILY

THE Dublin University Calendar describes the grandfather of the author of the Memoirs as Lawrence Hickey of Cashel *generosus*. He may have been of noble birth, but in Ireland the word "generosus" is thought to have sometimes meant nothing more than "a gentleman at large."

Joseph Hickey, senr., and his brother John, sons of Lawrence, were at Dublin University, and John appears to have been the father of the cousins mentioned by the author's brother Joseph in his Will. Those Cashel cousins do not appear by name in William Hickey's Memoirs, though he speaks of his father's relations in Ireland.

The inscriptions on the Hickey monument in Twickenham Churchyard, where the author's mother and father, his eldest sister Mary and his brother Joseph were buried, read :—

Herein are deposited the remains of Sarah Hickey the Wife of Joseph Hickey and daughter of William Boulton and Sarah his wife. She was born the 11th day of September 1720. O.S. and married the First day of July 1740.

She was gentle in her manners, an exemplary tender mother, a constant friend and a devout Christian and having lived more than eight and twenty years an undeviating pattern of true conjugal affection and attention, died the 8th day of August, 1768, most truly regretted and lamented.

The remains of her son Joseph Hickey Esq^{re}
are also herein deposited
Born April —¹ 1745. Died April 3rd 1827

Here are interred the remains of Joseph Hickey Esq.

He died the 12th August 1791, aged 82

Having lived a mournful widower 26 years

Nunc in pace requiescit Christianus expectans
resurrectionem hac confessione servavit fidem

Also of Mary Hickey his eldest daughter
who died 4th June 1796, aged 52

The author's brother Henry was buried at Madras on the 30th September, 1775, and his death must have occurred only a day or two earlier.

Joseph Hickey, senr., sold his Twickenham house in 1769 and his St. Albans Street house in 1786. He then went to live with his daughter

¹ Date uncertain.—Ed.

Mary at her house (probably No. 14) in Argyll Street, London, where he died. Joseph the son also had a house at Twickenham, in Lion Row, and died there.

No Will of Sarah Hickey, the author's mother, can be found, nor is there any trace of letters of administration of her estate.

Joseph Hickey, senr., did not leave a Will, but administration of his estate was granted to his son Joseph on the 8th September, 1794, the property being valued at less than £800.

Mary Hickey, William's sister, also died intestate, but there was no administration of her property.

Sarah and Ann, the author's twin sisters, seem to have spent a great deal of their time at Beaconsfield, before William settled in Little Hall Barn, and then to have lived with him there. Later they are found living together in Store Street, Bedford Square. The following are copies of entries in the Old Register of Burials in St. Pancras Churchyard :—

Name	. . .	Sarah Hickey
Abode	. . .	Westminster
When buried	. . .	13 th December 1824
Age	. . .	67 years

Name	. . .	Ann Hickey
Abode	. . .	Store Street
When buried	. . .	30 th Nov. 1826
Age	. . .	70 years

The entry in the Register of Sarah's burial first gave her the name of Hickney, but against the entry there has been placed a certificate of the burial, extracted on the 1st of August, 1826, annexed to an affidavit dated the 3rd August, 1826, showing that the true name was Hickey and that the name Hickney had been wrongly entered by the sacristan. Ann's age is correctly given in the Register, so the entry of Sarah's age must, as they were twin sisters, be incorrect. Sarah is described as of Westminster, but her last address was given as Store Street in the letters of administration of her estate granted to Ann on the 30th June, 1826. Sarah had died intestate, the value of her property being sworn at £20.

By her Will, dated the 2nd July, 1825, and proved on January 26th, 1827, Ann makes the following bequests :—

"I leave to Elizabeth Jane Bourke the picture of Mrs. Edmund Burke. I leave to Mrs. Felicie Swannach ten pounds for her great attentions to us all, likewise the furniture of the house or lodging in which William Hickey Esquire may live at the time of his death. . . . I leave to my dearly beloved brother William Hickey Esq^r my gold repeater for as long as he lives and then to go to my very dear friend Thomas Haviland Burke Esquire who has always been upon every occasion the most sincere and kindest friend and from whom I have received every comfort and consolation under the heavy affliction I met with in the death of my most beloved sister." Ann makes Mr. Haviland Burke her executor and residuary legatee, and begs that she may be buried by her sister Sarah.

William's brother Joseph, as will have been seen, was the next to die.

He was the only one of the family to marry, and he survived his wife about a year. It is not known where she was buried nor what was her maiden name. Joseph, in his Will dated the 5th of February, 1827, and proved on the following 17th of May, refers to her as "my late dear wife," but he does not even mention her Christian name which was Susan. By this Will Joseph leaves the house 14 Argyll Street, then in the occupation of Matthew Clarke or his undertenants, in trust for his cousins John Hickey "now or late of Cashol in Ireland," Dorothea Hickey (John's sister) and the four children of John: Dorothea, Lorenzo, Matthew and James Hickey: his house in Sion Row, Twickenham, and its contents in trust for Mary Ellis, wife of George Ellis, for life, and afterwards for John and Dorothea the cousins and John's children. He also leaves on the same trusts his moncoys, etocks, securities, and other properties, and gives to Mary Ellis his profile by Horves and the miniature of his late wife by Cosway with the tortoise-shell snuff-box in which it is set; the sum of £100 for the aged poor of Twickenham to be distributed at the discretion of the Rev. John Addison Carr, who in fact used it in the restoration of some almshouses, and a like sum of £100 for the poor of Cashol, to be distributed by the Archbishop of Cashel, to whom a portrait of Edmund Burke by Sir Joshua Reynolds is also given. Among the gifts of mourning rings is one to Mr. Thomas Haviland Burko with a legacy of £25. By the oaths of the Rev. J. A. Carr and Mary Ellis in support of a Memorandum proved with the Will and written at Twickenham by the Rev. J. A. Carr at the request of Joseph on February 28th, 1827, it is shown that Joseph was then quite blind.

When William Hickey returned from India in 1808 he was possessed of some £13,000, yet no Will made by him can be found, nor does it appear that letters of administration of his property were taken out in India or England. It seems almost certain that some time between 1810 and 1815 he received payment of the £11,500 of capital he had invested in India, and as he lived for many years afterwards it is perhaps not unlikely that he spent it. The date of his death is uncertain, but he is believed to have been the William Hickey whose name is given in the following entry in the Old Register of Burials in St. Pancras Churchyard:—

Name . . .	William Hickey
Abode . . .	Little King Street
When buried . .	31 st May 1830
Age . . .	70 years

It is certain that the author was living when his sister Ann made her Will on the 2nd July, 1825, and the fact that this Will was not altered perhaps justifies the assumption that he survived her. At the date of the Will William was apparently using furniture belonging to Ann, and it may have been at Little King Street, Camden Town, which was not far from Store Street. The William Hickey whose burial is recorded was evidently in lodgings, as his name does not appear in the Rate Booke as a householder. It is clear, too, from the Rate Books that the twin sisters also must have had only lodgings in Store Street.

The age of the William Hickey in the Burial Register is given as 70, while that of the author of the Memoirs would have been 80. But it is known that these old registers were often carelessly kept, entries being sometimes made on information supplied by those who had no real knowledge of the facts. The author was the last of his family, and it is quite likely that a mistake was made, as had previously happened in the name and age of his sister Sarah: now, however, there was no one sufficiently interested to discover the mistake and to get it corrected. It would have been natural for the author to wish to be buried beside his much-loved sister Ann, and in the same churchyard there had also been buried, in 1816, Mrs. Haviland, the mother of Thomas Haviland Burke.

A confirmation of the view that it was the William Hickey of the Memoirs who died in Camden Town is found in the fact that one or more of his second cousins lived in the neighbourhood. In September, 1830, James Lorenzo Hickey took out letters of administration (John Hickey the father having renounced them) of the estate of his brother Matthew Hickey, described as Mariner, formerly of Hadlow Street, Burton Crescent, and late of Cashel, Ireland, gentleman, bachelor. These would, of course, be the second cousins Lorenzo and Matthew and their father John named in the Will of William's brother Joseph.

In February, 1832, Mr. T. Haviland Burke, as executor of Ann Hickey, obtained a grant of administration of Sarah Hickey's property left administered by Ann, and in 1833 he publicly exhibited the portraits of Joseph Hickey, sonr., and Miss Hickey, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds. This again makes it more than likely that it was the author of the Memoirs who died in 1830, as Mr. Haviland Burke was probably anxious to settle up all the Hickey affairs after the death of the last of old Joseph Hickey's children.

The author's name does not appear in any of the lists of inscriptions on the old tombstones of the St. Pancras burial-ground, nor is there any other trace of his grave. The death of his sister Ann was publicly announced, but contemporary newspapers have been searched in vain for any mention of the death of the author.

ERRATA AND NOTES

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1. The following is a copy of the entry in the Register of Baptisms, St. James's, Piccadilly:—

August 11th 1749

William Hickey, son of Joseph and Sarah,

Born June 30

5. The Rev. R. S. Cobbold, M.A., in his memorials of old Twickenham' says:—"On the site of the newly-built house, now the residence of Mr' Child (1872), stood the residence of Mr. Joseph Hickoy, an attorney of considerable eminence but of whom Horace Walpole spoke with little respect as Mr. H——, the impudent lawyer, that Tom Hervey wrote against."
- „ John Hamilton's printed case is also filed at the British Museum with the Reply of Joseph Hickey.
9. Mr. Michael Ryan by his will left the author £20 only, but this may have been augmented in some way.
34. The MS. shows that the author embarked for Twickenham at Dicky Roberts's at Lambeth.
41. There is an epitaph on a gravestone at the south-west of St. Leonard's Church, Streatham, which reads as follows: "In memory of the Rev. James Jackson, A.M., many years Master of the Academy in this place, who died Nov. 20th., 1766, aged 63 years." A local historian, Mr. H. Baldwin, who went to Streatham in 1859, says he was told by the old sexton that the Academy mentioned on the tombstone was Hambly House. It was long since demolished, the site being now covered with shops. Apparently it was at the north corner of what are now the High Road and Barrow Road.
94. Deleted. A long history of Mr. Wilkes's political life, covering a period of many years from 1768. In it are included in abbreviated form the conversations, as recorded by Boswell, between Johnson and Wilkes at the famous dinners given to them by Dillys' the booksellers.
106. The "Toy" was at Hampton Court.
- 113, line 1. Read "15th" for "18th."
114. The author's Uncle Boulton was his mother's brother, William Boulton of Coleherno, Kensington, who died in 1701, and was

- who died there in 1898. Colohorne was subsequently pulled down and modern buildings erected upon the site. John Hunter, the famous surgeon, rented a part of the Colohorne property in 1778.
126. It was publicly announced on the 20th Oct., 1772, that "Last Sunday died the once gay, the once beautiful Lucy Cooper. Her life exceptional, her death exemplary, she saw her follies and repented of them."
202. Mr. J. E. Hubbard of the British Legation, Peking, has furnished the following extract from the Letter Book of the Council of Supercargoes at Canton for the year 1769.

"Letter from Capt. Waddell of the *Plassey*,

Rec^d 27 Aug., 1769.

To Henry Revell, Esq. & Co.,

Supracargoes of Council at Canton.

I have the honor of your orders and instructions dated the 23th Instant, every article of which shall be complied with to the best of my skill and power, and I now take the liberty to acquaint you that Mr. John McClintock and Mr. William Hickey are passengers on board the *Plassey* from Madras to this place, as is likewise Matthew Jacob an Armenian merchant.

I am with much respect,

Your most obed^t hum^d serv^t,

JOHN WADDELL."

In sending this letter Mr. Hubbard writes: "There are various other entries in the Letter Book which substantiate Hickey's account of his stay at Canton. The Hoppe incident on p. 215 of Vol. I is reflected in a copy of orders to the Captains of all ships arriving at Whampoa, to see that all boats going up to Canton stop at the 'Hoppe houses,' and a reprimand to the Commander of the *Infector* for allowing his officer to disregard the order, thereby 'causing the security merchants a great deal of trouble.'"

- 221, line 31. For "Banbury" read "Bunbury."
261. "Euphrates Lodge of Bucks. Removed to Munby's office house, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden. To meet at 7 o'clock precisely. By order of the Grand. J. Pomier, Secretary."—*The Daily Advertiser*, March 17th, 1773.
- 263, line 8. The words "her father" should be deleted. The Commodore was her husband.
- 283, line 10. The words "whom I have before spoken of" should be deleted. The portion of the MS. in which the name of Mrs. Cholmondeley had been mentioned was eliminated. She was the wife of the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Cholmondeley, son of Lord Malpas and grandson of Lord Cholmondeley, and a friend of the Hickey family.
308. The author in his copy of "Retaliation," which was deleted, identifies the men mentioned in it, but these identifications do not differ from those to be found in modern editions of Goldsmith's poetical works.
- 319, line 10. The words "of whom I shall say more by and by" should be deleted. A later reference to Mrs. Mahon's son was omitted. It showed that when about fourteen years of age he arrived in Calcutta and having a sweet voice was much invited to fashionable parties. He soon afterwards went to Madras, where he became a Cornet of Dragoons and within twelve months died of a fever.
326. The Maltons lived in Kemp's Row, Chelsea, which took its name from Nicholas Kempe, one of the proprietors of Ranelagh Gardens

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70. The name of Mrs. Cane's mother was Johnson not Johnsten. She was the wife of Henry Johnson, Esq., of Great Berkhamstead. The sisters of Mrs. Cane were named Agneta and Laetitia. It was Laetitia who became the wife of the Hon. Charles Yorke.
- 88-104. Deleted. Descriptions of sailing trips with Mr. Cane and General Desaguliers.
- 105-117. Deleted. An account of dissensions between the passengers and Capt. Arthur and between the passengers themselves.
- 118, line 3. Read "Saugor" for "Sangor."
- 120, line 37. Read "begahs" for "bogahs."
- 121, line 22. Read Kiderpore for Raderpore.
140. Deleted. Details of an action brought by Mr. Cressy against Capt. Arthur arising out of a quarrel on board the *Seahorse*: also details of Dr. Dsrmit (referred to in Vol. I as Denil) Court's eccentricities and death.
143. Deleted. A record of the career of Mr. Holt a Westminster boy, the only son of Mr. Holt of Camberwell, Secretary to the East India Company. He arrived in Calcutta in 1778 and lost his life in the *Queen Charlotte*. The author's brother Joseph had met young Holt, then running away from home, in the Bedford coffee house, and had been the means of restoring him to his father (see p. 252, Vol. II). He married in India Meggy Donaldson (see p. 320, Vol. III), who died 15 months after of "a broken heart," and later he married a Miss Nesham. He lived in the greatest extravagance, but towards the end of his life was reduced to poverty.
- 150, line 3. Read "Baugh" for "Bonigh."
- " Deleted. Details of the proceedings in Gool Gosaul's action: also some particulars of the careers and characters of Sir John Day and Mr. Stephen Popham.
151. The marriage of Miss Benedetta Ramus was publicly announced as follows: "Feb. 15, 1777, Miss Ramus of St. James's Palace, to John Day, Esq., of Middle Temple, Advocate."
- 161-2. Read "Pulta" for "Puttah."
163. The Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Catch Club was founded in 1761 and numbered George IV and William IV among its early members. The air to which "Drink to me only with thine eyes" is set, is said to be by Colonel Melliish, and the song was sung by him at one of the meetings.
184. Deleted. An account of the travels of a Mr. Stewart who had journeyed on foot through Hindostan, Persia, Arabia, and other countries and of his ill-treatment by certain members of Council of Madras.
- 195, line 9. The words "as I have before observed" should be deleted. Shippey was mentioned in an omitted part of the MS. and there called "Mr." Shippey a cadet.
222. *The Cape Times* of July 13, 1918, says: "In the Cape archives there are two letters of Hickey written from Simon's Town in February, 1780, in which he states that he is a passenger on the English ship *Nassau* which was obliged to put into Simon's Bay in distress. He applies for permission to proceed to Europe in a Dutch Company's ship because the urgency of his private affairs will not permit him to remain in Cape Town during the months which the repairs to the *Nassau* will take to complete."
234. On July 18, 1781, the *Held Woltemade*, bound for Ceylon, was taken off Saldanha Bay by an English ship.

250. Emily, variously given the surnames of Bertie, Coventry, Warren, and Pott, was painted not only by Reynolds but also by Romney, Shoriff, and Dance. Mr. Arthur B. Chamberlain in his *Life of Romney* says: "In 1781 he (Romney) painted a three-quarters portrait of the beautiful Emily Bertie, the mistress of a Mr. Pott, who took her with him to India where they both died. He also began a full-length of her in a recumbent position which was never finished, afterwards cutting out the head, which he gave to his pupil, Isaac Pocock. Sir Joshua's picture of Thais also represents this lady" (see frontispiece to Vol. III). According to the dates of the sittings it would seem that Romney painted Bob Pott and Emily at the same time.
- "Charlotte Hayes lived with "Count" O'Kelly the owner of the famous racehorse "Eclipse."
266. Deleted. Additional details relating to Lord George Gordon and the scenes of the riots.
271. Deleted. Descriptions of events in the career of Capt. Macintosh.
292. Deleted. Details of Adcock's action and of the author's defence.
296. Mrs. Malkin the owner of the picture facing this page says it was given by Sir Joshua to a Mr. Carr of Twickenham, a family friend, whose sister was a Mrs. Malkin.
299. There is in the India Office a full record of the enquiries of this Committee including the evidence given by the author, which deals not only with the practice of the Supreme Court and the question of Trial by Jury but also with the state of the Gaol of Calcutta.
310. Messrs. Berry, the Wine Merchants of 3 St. James's Street, S.W. (formerly the Old Coffee Mill) where numbers of eminent men were weighed, furnish the information that they have been able to trace in some of their old records the weights of three of those concerned in the escapade mentioned on this page, viz.: Bob Pott 16 stone, Shakespear 14 stone 12 lbs., Lord Falding 10 stone 6½ lbs.; but they cannot trace the weights of the other three. They have the weight of a Mr. Hickey, taken on Nov. 17, 1808, 11½ stone, and also that of Mr. Burke taken on the same day, 12 stone 5½ lbs. This Mr. Hickey may have been Joseph, but it is more likely that it was William. The other man was probably Mr. Haviland Burke.
323. Deleted. An account of a claim set up by John Mordaunt, son of the then late Lord Peterborough, to certain Scottish property belonging to the Earl and of John's failure to substantiate his claim owing to the fact that his father and mother did not marry each other until after he was born and that Lord Peterborough had a wife living at the time of John's birth.
343. Deleted. Descriptions of a punting match between the author and Capt. Macintosh and of the very gay dinner which followed, as the wager of the match, at Legons ("The Bull") Shooter's Hill.
372. In a letter from Lady Charlotte Finch, written from Lisbon and published April 9, 1781, she says, that "the Earl of Winchelsea has received great benefit at Lisbon."

VOL. III

- 13, line 17. The date 30th of November is given in the MS. but it is obviously a mistake. It should be the 29th October (see p. 12).
99. Dr. J. M. Bulloch writes: "Lady Gordon was the widow of Sir John James Gordon, 4th Bart. of Park, Banffshire, who was killed at the siege of Bassein in 1780. Her son was Sir John Bury Gordon

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(1781-1835), who founded what is now known as the 30th (Indian) Lancers (Gordon's Horse). Lady Gordon, who died in Sloane Street, Jan. 28, 1792, was Hannah Corner, daughter of T. Corner, London, and married Sir John at Bombay, Dec. 26, 1777."

- 137-140. In *Bengal, Past and Present* (Vols. XXV-VI) it is recorded that there is no trace of Emily's grave in the Park Street cemeteries, but that there is a masonry column at Culpse. No inscription is visible and the column is locally known as the Tomb of Mana Bibi. "According to local tradition," says this publication, "a lady died on board one of the ships and was brought ashore for burial. She is said to have been Portuguese, but as the vernacular word for this could be Feringhee we need be in no way committed to the nationality, nor need we feel debarred from identifying the monument with Pott's Folly, although it does not go by that name."
142. There is in one of the volumes of Indian letters presented by E. B. Impey to the British Museum, and now in the MS. room there, an original letter from the author which reads as follows:

"To the Honorable Sir Elijah Impey, Knight, Chief Justice, Sir Robert Chambers, Knight, and John Hyde, Esq., Justices of His Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

Calcutta, June 29th, 1793.

My Lords,

Upon my return lately to this country, I was much surprised and mortified to hear that my name was struck off the roll of attorneys of the Supreme Court; unconscious of having acted in any manner to deserve a dismissal, I am led to request your Lordships' indulgence, by allowing me to be again entered on the roll: I left India partly on account of health, as well as business I was engaged in, but with a fixed determination to return; a variety of concurring unfortunate circumstances kept me upon my passage near eighteen months, otherwise should have been in Calcutta considerably before the time I find my name was struck off.

As I humbly conceive no individual whatever has been injured by my absence, nor that anyone can consider himself so by my readmission, I venture to flatter myself your Lordships will comply with my request.

I have the honor to be,
with the greatest respect,
my Lords,

Your Lordships' most obedient and
most humble servant,

W. HICKES."

It would seem that this is not the letter referred to by the author on p. 142, which must have been one to Sir Elijah Impey personally, but it is evidently the one to which Sir Elijah gave the answer appearing on p. 143, as the original of this answer is placed with the author's letter set out above. Sir Elijah's letter is almost word for word as the author gives it.

- 145, line 7. Read "Kearnan" for "Kearman." Major V. Hodson writes, 146, line 14. that the daughter of Thomas Kearnan of the City of London who married Col. Watson was named Maria Thoresa, and that the

- marriage register of St. John's Church, Calcutta, under date the 16th Feb., 1786, contains the following: "Lt. Richard Humphrey of the Engineers and Miss Margaret Kiernan."
160. Deleted. A list of the names of the many ladies who came to "Mrs." Hickey's reception.
163. Deleted. An account of a ridiculous Trial by Jury case which showed the fallibility of a Jury.
103. Mr. R. Greening writes from the Ponang Library, Ponang: "In 1815 R. Ferris of Calcutta printed and published a register of the epitaphs, etc., in the churches and burial grounds in and about Calcutta, compiled by Mr. M. Derozario. The book is entitled *The Complete Monumental Register*, etc. Among the monuments recorded is one in the Great Burial Ground:

To the memory of

MRS. CHARLOTTE HICKEY

wife of Wm. Hickoy, Esq.

who died on the 25th of December, 1783

aged 21 years, 10 months and 10 days

Leaving a truly disconsolate husband

Bitterly and incessantly to deplore the loss of her.

- Charlotte's tomb is in South Park Street cemetery and is quite an imposing structure.
241. Read "Macdonal" for "Macdonal." On p. 478 of Vol. IV the author says Lt.-Gen. Macdonal went down in the *Lady Jane Dundas* and not in the *Calcutta* of the same fleet.
259. Deleted. Some particulars of Mr. Tylor's pecuniarities and natural benevolence: of his large claims on the East India Company and of his position as Military Paymaster.
289. Sir Robert Edgcumbe writes, "The Earl of Inchiquin was married July, 1792, to Mary Palmer, Sir Joshua Reynolds's niece and heiress, d. of his eldest sister Mrs. Palmer of Torrington, my great-grand-mother."
306. Deleted. An account of an action brought against Sir John Macpherson, the Governor-General, by Ozias Humphry, the artist, who endeavoured to make Sir John personally responsible for the payment of Humphry's fees for painting portraits of affluent natives, which he had been able to do through Sir John's introductions and recommendations. The artist failed in his action, but Sir John did not press for payment of his own costs.
- 308 and 310. For "Fleuchman" read "Henchman."
- 309 and 317. For "Serampore" read "Serampore."
317. For "Baudel" read "Bandel."
- 314 and 318. Mr. Arthur Robertson writes: "I have a certificate of the admission of James Forbes as a mason in Lodge 2, the one mentioned on p. 314. The Master who signed the Certificate is Hugh Honeycomb, mentioned on p. 347. The date of the Certificate is the 23rd Dec., 1780. James Forbes married Anne Barkley, an ancestress of mine."
318. For "Sooksangor" read "Sooksangor."
- 319, line 34. *The Calcutta Statesman* says that James English Keighley was a son of the Mrs. Keighley who kept the academy at Streatham where the author was educated. Major V. Hodson says that James English Keighley's first wife was Miss Mary Higgins, whom he married at Calcutta 17th May, 1777.

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- 330, *et seq.* Read "Russapugly" for "Russassugly."
342. Bob Pott's marriage to his cousin, Miss Sarah Cruttenden, took place at Berhampore. His father, the eminent surgeon, Percivall Pott of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, had, in 1746, married Sarah, daughter of Robert Cruttenden. Amongst Impey's Indian letters in the British Museum, to which reference has already been made, there are many letters written by Pott. They reveal something of his character, and he speaks of many of the people mentioned by the author. Pott seems to have continued to reside in India, and to have died there on the 22nd June, 1795. His Will, which is dated 25th March, 1791, and gives Moorshedabad as his address, was made at Luoknow, where he appears to have been as late as 1793, and was registered in the Supreme Court at Fort William on being proved there on the 14th April, 1796. His widow, who was one of his executors, died in India on the 18th September, 1807. By his Will Pott gives to his cousin, Lt. George Cruttenden, a painting of Emily by Danoe; to his brother, the Rev. Joseph Holden Pott, a painting of Emily by Romney, and to Major George Russell, a picture of Emily, painted on ivory, by Sheriff. Pott's brother, the Rev. Joseph Holden Pott, became Archdeacon of London and Vicar of Kensington,
- 356, line 15. Read "Boeroo" for "Breroo."
376. The author in his MS. relates that after going to Madras, Mr. and Miss Blanshard embarked in a Danish ship at Tranquebar and transferred to an English merchant ship when off the Azores. This vessel was never afterwards heard of.
389. Mr. George W. Milles, in sending a copy of the following letter written by William Cane to Charles Townshend, Esq., says: "The person to whom it was addressed was evidently that one of the three contemporary namesakes who was younger brother to the 1st Lord Sydney. His youngest aunt (by his grandfather, Lord Townshend's second marriage) had married Admiral Cornwallis, brother of the Governor-General I fancy."

Tours,

Nov. 15th, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

I don't know if a twelve years absence has made you entirely lose sight of a man you once honoured with your friendship. I am going to put it to the proof by asking a favour of you, yet I think I hardly do you justice in doubting your inclination to serve me; your power of doing so is the only matter in question,—but to the point. In the days of my prosperity I fitted out a person for India, paid his passage, got him letters of recommendation from Mr. Pigou, Mr. Gregory and Dan. Weir and this without his family interfering in the least, the whole affair rested on me. This person is now in a very good way at Calcutta, but has never sent me a shilling, though he knows my circumstances. I drew on him last year for the amount in favour of a gentleman who had kindly lent me money when I was in great distress, but tho' he allowed the debt he returned the bills protested. Such is the state of the case. What I wish you to do is this,—as from your connection with Lord Cornwallis you must know something of the people about him—w^d you write (or get somebody who is authorized from rank or place to do so) to hint to the person that if he don't pay the

money he will be exposed or looked on with an evil eye by those about the Governor, as everything depends on *his* will and pleasure. I don't doubt in the least but the money w^d be instantly paid, and I thereby enabled to pay a just and honourable debt which weighs more upon me as I have never been pressed for payment. The person's name is Mr. William Hickey, son to Mr. Joseph Hickey of St. Albani's Street. Mr. Thos. Dashwood has the copy of my letter to Mr. Hickey desiring payment and stating the transaction. He is still at Calcutta and will show it to any person to whom you write. Mr. Wilbraham by whose means I sent the bills to India and got Mr. Dashwood's assistance will tell you any circumstances which you might wish to know.

I don't know how we sh^d agree in Politics were we to meet over a bottle of claret, perhaps better on the quality of the wine than on the In's and Out's. As I am descended by my mother's side from two of Oliver Cromwell's Major-Generals who had the honour of signing King Charles's sentence, I am too stout a Whig to alter an iota in my political creed. The memory of the D of Cumberland and L^d Rockingham are dear to me. I was grieved when the House of Commons lost their power of control over ministers. The increase of the peace establishment of the army, and the transferring the patronage of the East to the Crown, show plainly that the English no longer wish to be free, and that the trial by Jury is the only circumstance in which they have the advantage over their neighbours among whom I live. Perhaps the French Regiments refusal to fire on the People at Rennes w^d not have been imitated on a like occasion in England.

I trust to your candour that the above paragraph won't hurt the success of my petition to a Secretary of State's Mother, but if I had not made my confession of faith you w^d have divined it.

But in treating of any India concern, as the idea of bribery naturally presents itself, I will finish with an argument which I look upon as victorious, inasmuch as its of that kind which logicians stile "*ad hominem*." If you will assist me in getting my money from Mr. Hickey you shall receive at your house in London one dozen of la Fite (autrement vin de Segur) of 74. If it has not the combined qualities of Burgundy and Hermitage grafted on right good claret, then I am a Jack. I will decant it here into other bottles as a ten years sediment w^d totally spoil it, were it to be mixed. If the City of London produces its equal may I be condemned to heavy port or sour vin du pais for my life. But of this somewhat too much. Farewell my dear Sir, perhaps we may never meet again, but whether you serve me or no be persuaded of the constant esteem and respect of your faithful friend and very humble servant

WILL. CANE.

To Charles Townsend, Esq.

391, last line. Read "Siroar" for "sitcar."

VOL. IV

FROM

- 8 and 20. Sir R. B. D. Acland, K.C., has supplied Extracts from the Logs of the voyages of the *Warren Hastings* to Madras and back to Bengal. The first Log gives as passengers "Will^m Hickey, Esq., Attorney at Bengal," and Lt. Colebrooke, but according to the Log the author went on board on the 26th, not the 25th of December. The second Log shows that the author and Mr. Laprimaudaye were passengers. But for the slight discrepancy mentioned the accounts given by the author are confirmed by the Logs.
22. Thomas Hickey returned to Bengal. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of May 21st, 1807, the following advertisement appeared: "Mr. Thomas Hickey. Lately arrived at this Presidency from Madras. Begs leave to acquaint his friends to whom he was formerly known in Bengal and those who may have had more recent knowledge of his practice in his profession as a Portrait Painter, that he means to resume it here and has taken a house in Ranny-moody-Gully commodiously situated to that purpose." Thomas Hickey died at Madras 20th May, 1824, at the age of 83.
40. Deleted. Details of the treatment of Rundell in his illness by a Scotch doctor of Bombay who undertakes a cure. In the last extremity Rundell goes on board the *Queen* but dies in a few days. He wishes the author and Mr. William Harper to be his executors, but succumbs while trying to make a mark against his instructions which Capt. Douglas had written down. His corpse is brought to Diamond Harbour and the funeral takes place from the author's house. Major V. Hodson says that administration was granted on the 28th Oct., 1791, to William Harper, a codicil to the Will being dated "On board the *Queen* Capt. P. Douglas" and that there is the following "N.B. It is my last will and resolution that the lease of the Calcutta Theatre be not looked upon as part of the above mentioned property nor sold on my account, but that it be returned to the proprietors at large and a compliment of my thanks herewith." According to the inscription on his tombstone in the South Park Street Burial Ground, Calcutta, Mr. Rundell died on the 2nd Sept, 1791, at the age of 42.
66. David Ross died at Perth, N.B., on 22nd Oct., 1806.
- 67-73. Deleted. A long account of the affairs of the Bengal Bank and of its ruin. Rider and Moe had been making cloths for sale by Thomas Hinchman to foreign markets, this branch being under the management of Mr. Gregory. Large losses followed and the ruin was largely brought about by Beeroo Soal, a Bengal sircar. After a run on the Bank Rider escaped to Bombay, but later returned to Calcutta and quickly made for Bonaroe out of the jurisdiction of the Court. Moo stood his ground, but Gregory committed suicide. On the creditors threatening Moe with imprisonment he, under the advice of the author, secreted himself at the author's house and with his help managed to escape to Europe. One of the most violent of the creditors was Eustache Vialars.
75. Sir Robert Edgcombe writes that Mr. William Johnson who married Anne Maria, d. of General Tolley, was a son of Sir Joshua's sister Elizabeth Reynolds, who married William Johnson of Torrington.
- .. Deleted. An account of a fracas at a Subscription Assembly owing to the introduction of the wife of Doctor Hartley (formerly Miss Lane) who before her marriage had been notoriously immoral. Her situation among the outraged ladies at the assembly is made impossible, distressing scenes follow, and as a consequence the Doctor

- challenges Colonel Collings—one of the men concerned in the disturbance—to a duel.
113. For the words “the purchase” in the chapter heading read “the acquisition.”
- ” Sir William Jones, first President of the Asiatic Society, died at Garden Reach on the 27th April, 1793. He had married Miss Shipley on April 8th, 1783. Sir William Dunkin, his brother Judge, wrote his epitaph.
134. Deleted. Details of a dispute between Mr. John Shaw and Nomy-churn Mulliek concerning a loan to Shaw. As a consequence Shaw departs for Prince of Wales’s Island, and afterwards wanders from place to placethrough India, being provided with funds by a few friends.
153. Deleted. Some particulars of Mr. Orby Hunter’s career. Seeking refuge in Bengal, after leading a dissipated life as a Captain of Dragoons in England, he became a Sheriff in Calcutta and later took up indigo planting. At Tirhoot he attached himself to a Hindostannee woman who caused his downfall. Savagely cruel to her dependents and so jealous of two of them that she caused their noses to be cut off, she and Hunter were sent to the Presidency to take their trial—he as accessory—for the crime. The cases of the two women were separately tried—in one case Hunter was fined, in the other acquitted.
177. Deleted. Instances of Mr. Burroughs’s practices, which were extremely derogatory to his character; also details of an attempt by Mr. Macnaghten to get Burroughs disbarred.
203. Deleted. Particulars of the career of James Taylor the attorney who “had no nice scruples or conscientious qualms,” and of his association with Sir John Anstruther and Mr. Burroughs, “birds of the same feather.”
223. Mr. L. G. Carr Loughton, the naval historian, says, the *Triton* was taken on the 29th Jan., 1796, which differs materially from the author’s date. The pilot brig or schooner which Surcouff had captured he had renamed the *Catier*.
252. Deleted. An account of an action for trespass and assault by Mr. Fergusson, employed by Government in the Salt Department, against Stephen Rollason who, owing to his violent behaviour when in gaol and committing a murder there, was hanged.
270. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of Oct. 1st, 1801, there is the following record of one of the Westminster meetings.
- “Westminster meeting. 22nd September, 1801, at Scornee’s Tavern. Commodore Sir Home Popham, particularly invited, General Fraser, Colonel Green of the Artillery, the Hon’ble Mr. Bruce, Mr. Thornhill, etc., attended.
- At 7 p.m. the company sat down to dinner, Mr. Hickey as the Senior Westminster being in the chair: the Artillery band played during the repast.
- After dinner the following toasts were given by the President and repeated by the Vice-President in due order, the band playing an appropriate tune to each toast.
- Toasts :
- Alma Mater
All the Boys
To the Memory of Queen Elizabeth
The King
The Queen and Royal Family
The Masters and Ushers of Westminster School
Success to His Majesty’s ship the *Romney*
The Navy and Army
Lord Wellesley and Prosperity to India
Our Brother Westminsters in England.

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- Several songs were then sung with obliging kindness by different gentlemen and the remainder of the evening was passed in classical conversation, genuine cheerfulness and festive mirth."
291. Deleted. Details of an action by Mr. Craven against Mr. Lambart Molony, a Civil servant and magistrate, which resulted in the dismissal of Mr. Molony from the East India Company's service.
293. Deleted. A description of the career and character of Charles Law and of his death at sea, where he wrote instructions to the author and a Mr. Philip Brady as to the disposition of his property.
315. Deleted. Additional details of the Bonnagees' claim, showing how it was settled by the formal award of Mr. Turner, the author's partner, which award is set out at length.
322. The author was one of the signatories of an address to Lord Wellesley on his departure.
346. Deleted. An account of an action brought by Mr. Simpson against Mr. A. St. G. Tucker, concerning a gross assault upon Mrs. Simpson. As the result of the action Mr. Tucker was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. At the end of his confinement he wrote thanking the author as Deputy-Sheriff for the humane and kind treatment he had received from him while in gaol.
361. Mrs. Charlotte Smith died on the 28th Oct., 1806, at Tilford, Surrey. The public announcement of her death described her as "Author of Sonnets and other respectable works."
382. An advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of Dec. 24th, 1807, begins as follows: "To be sold by public auction by Tulloh & Company on Monday the 25th January, 1808, at his house adjoining the Supreme Court the truly elegant property of William Hickey Esq. returning to Europe." Then follows a long list of effects, including furniture, plate, jewellery, paintings and engravings, books, a billiard table, a chamber organ, a stock of the best liquors, "a full pannell buggy, finished in the first style with a very handsome steady going good Bay Acheen poney and plated harness; a very handsome showy fine tempered bay saddle horse with saddle and bridle. A ditto bay Buggy poney. A ditto bay saddle poney and a grey carriage horse formerly one of a pair and full 14 hands high. A very elegant chair palankeen finished in the first style. A fashionable mehanna as good as new. A very good ditto." The sale was postponed to the 5th Feb., 1808.
385. Deleted. Additional details from the *Calcutta Mirror's* description of Chinnery's picture.
402. Mr. Edward Benjamin Lewin died at Kew in January, 1830
403. Mr. Robert Ledlie died in Calcutta on the 24th Nov., 1809. His wife, formerly Susan Grand, whom he married in 1786 was twenty years his junior, and died, also in Calcutta, on the 26th July, 1800.
447. Deleted. The particular circumstances attending the murder of Mr. Parr which were, the author says, "set forth in a letter from Capt. William Byram Cox, who commanded the military at Bencoolen, to Mr. Richard Parry, the gentleman who, upon Mr. Parr's being nominated to an elevated situation in Bengal, was sent to fill the post of chief at Bencoolen and to relieve Mr. Parr therefrom." Mr. Parry arrived at Bencoolen a few days after the murder was committed. Capt. Cox, in his narrative, goes over a period of years to show how from the time of the establishment of what were called the free pepper gardens, the natives had grievances which culminated in this murder. He tells with many details how the murder was committed and also how in attempting to protect her husband, Mrs

Parr was very severely wounded in the breast and hands, one of her fingers being completely cut off. Mr. Robert Samuel Porronu is several times mentioned, but he is not shown to have had any complicity in the affair.

472. Mrs. Edmund Burke died in the spring of 1812 at Beaconsfield.

473. Munnoo was baptized on the 27th Feb., 1800, in the Parish of Beaconsfield, with the name of William Munnow, by the Rev. William Mussago Bradford, and is described in the certificate of baptism as a native of Madras.

474. *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire General Advertiser* of the 11th May, 1809, announces amongst the arrivals at Cheltenham, "Mr. and Miss Hickey." In a subsequent issue they announce the arrival of "Miss Hickey" on the 7th June, 1810, and of "Mr. Burke" (probably Mr. Haviland Burke) on 2nd July, 1810.

476. The India Office has most kindly given the following interesting particulars: "With reference to your enquiry regarding William Hickey, I am directed to inform you that it appears from records preserved in this office, that on the 19th January, 1808, he subscribed, in Calcutta, a sum of sicca rupees 92,000, to an 8 per cent loan of the Bengal Government. Interest on this loan was payable half-yearly on the 2nd May and 2nd November, and sums due to investors who had proceeded to Europe were remitted by Bills of Exchange drawn by the Governor-General in Council on the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Such remittances were made periodically to William Hickey for the interest due from 2nd May, 1808, to 2nd May, 1810, the half-yearly amount being sicca Rupees 3,680, equivalent at 2s. 6d. the sicca rupee to £460. On the 6th July, 1810, a Bill of Exchange was sent for S.R. 93,148 (£11,643 10s. 9d.) representing a payment of the principal sum with accrued interest to that date.

"The Bill of Exchange was accepted by the Company on the 20 Feb. 1811 and was payable twelve months after sight. It could not therefore have been paid before 20 Feb. 1812, and for the following reason it may have been paid considerably after that date. I have seen lately a photograph of a Bill of Exchange sent home by the Bengal Government in 1783, and noticed that it was payable twelve months after sight, and also that the Company had the option of deferring payment for one, two or three years after it was due on condition that 5 per cent. interest was paid. If Hickey's Bill had the same wording the Company may have exercised their option of deferring payment. We can find no evidence of the exact date of payment."

478. There is in Beaconsfield Church a tablet with the inscription: "Sacred to the memory of William Baker, Chief officer of the *Lady Jane Dundas*, East Indiaman, only son of John and Kitty Baker of this place, who perished in the 32nd year of his age on board that ship, which was lost together with the *Jane*, *Duchess of Gordon*, the *Calcutta* and *Bengal*, and all on board, in a tremendous storm on her passage to England in March, 1809. Sincerely lamented by his Relatives and Friends."

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